

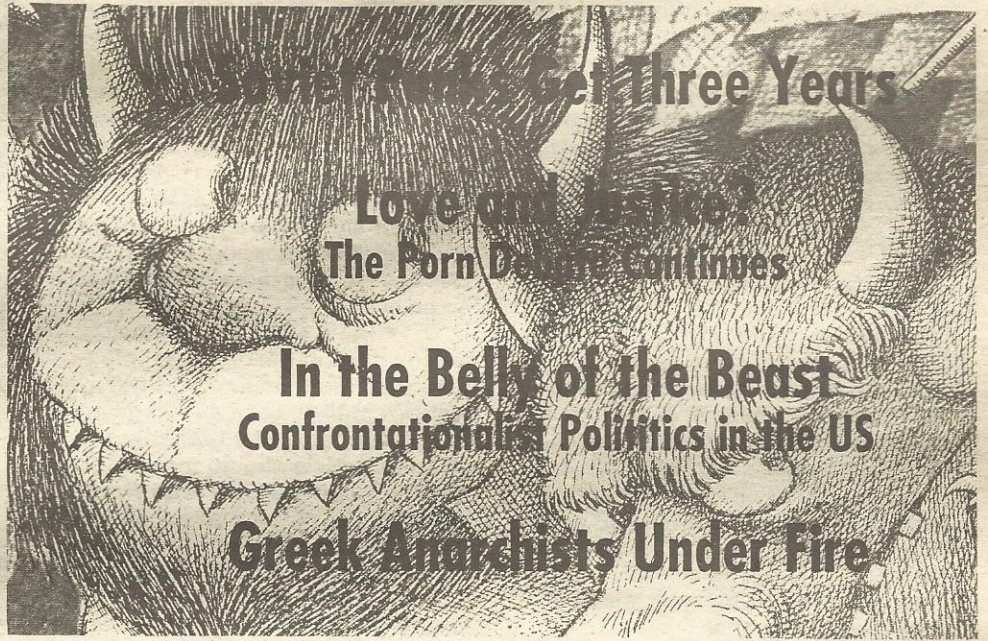
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SECCION EN ESPAÑOL

MARCH 1992 \$1

LOVE AND RAGE

A REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST
NEWSMONTHLY



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THE ASPECT
FOUNDATION
PO BOX 3
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Radical Ecology
Gets to the Roots

Burned Again
Ironbound's Fight
Against Incineration

To Love and Rage In Honor of Interplanetary Women's Day/Week/Month, (read: this is the time we are told to pay special attention to women's oppression so that we can relieve our guilt and then go back to business as usual)

Speaking for our ovaries we are disturbed and enraged at the lack of participation by women in the Love and Rage project. After almost two years in print the participants are still mostly white, middle class men. There are some women in the production group, but very few of the articles included are written by women. The production group is dominated by "professional revolutionary" men, clearly exercising their privileges in order to save the world for the rest of us while we are busy with the details of surviving. Is this the alternative, the anarchist vision that the Love and Rage Network struggles for? We hope not. The personal being political means that actualizing your politics speaks louder than rhetoric.

Among the reasons why homogeneous groups stay that way is the factor of the climate. There are many women, not to mention a few men, who are uncomfortable in the Love and Rage office because it is such a bastion of white male intellectual masturbation. When women do seek to take a part or assert themselves to take more of a "leadership" role they are rebuked in many subtle and not so subtle ways. An exception to this might be that the February issue of Love and Rage was the first to be facilitated by a woman. However, since this issue had its focus on "women's issues," it might be a symptom of the many problems rather than a first step towards solving them.

These problems include situations such as when a woman writes a news article which is outside the ghetto of women's issues, and it is not printed because of "space limitations." When someone points out that it is the only submission by a woman for that issue, it is dismissed as a gesture of tokenism and the paper goes to press without it. Get real folks, if you alienate women who are interested in working with you on this project, then other women will rarely be attracted to your organization because a) they will see

cludes philosophic discussion or is it a journal of anarchist philosophy with a page of news updates? Take a real critical look at yourselves, you're not fooling anyone but yourselves.

If the masthead actually listed the names of people who actually worked on each issue of the paper then we would get a more realistic view of who is working on the paper. For example, a woman may work on one or more issues and leave the paper, while her name remains on the masthead for months. This gives the false impression that she is still a part of the paper, and misleads the reader into thinking that the paper is more diverse than it actually is.

Creating a climate of inclusion means making space for people to take part. That means that the intellectual cabal at Love and Rage must hold itself back. The time taken to write an article should instead be put into identifying others who would write for the paper and encouraging them to do so. We are tired of the helpless cry of those in charge whining "but what could we do, we wanted diversity but it didn't happen." We suggest that they use the privilege at their disposal to figure it out.

In Rage,
Pissed Off Women
NYC

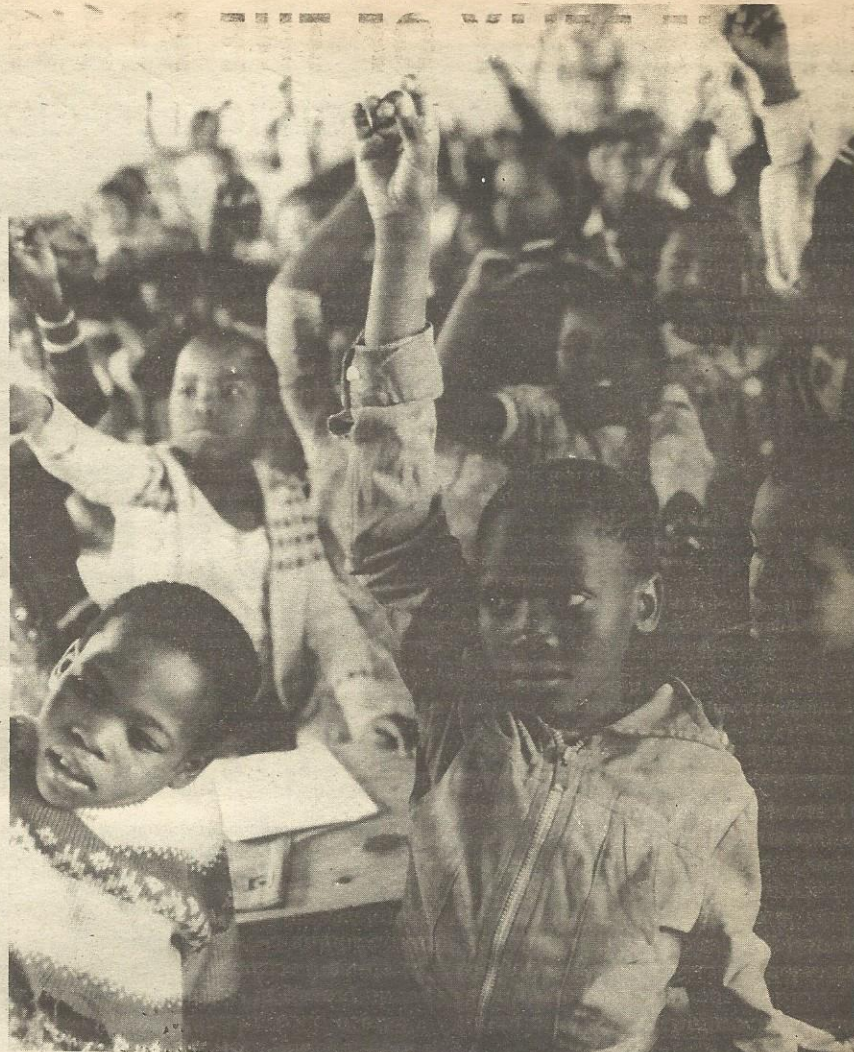
Note: In an experiment to further democratize the process of making Love and Rage, the February issue was co-facilitated by one woman and one man from the production group.

RIGHT WING ANARCHISTS

Dear Love and Rage,

Mitchell Haberstadt did us all a favor by writing his letter (Vol. 3 No. 1) attacking my article, "Revolutionary Anarchism: Part of the Left?" (Vol. 2 No. 8). I have been hoping for some dialogue on this important topic, and his letter at least makes some issues very clear.

Mitchell begins his attack by saying he is "an anarchist but not necessarily a revolutionary." Apparently he believes that it may be possible for this society, oppressive as it is, to peace-



freedom and group solidarity (community, cooperation) are both among the greatest values. In practice they may conflict, but then we have to work it through — ultimately we will only be free when we can cooperate, and vice versa.

Then he goes on to denounce "the familiar and predictable litany of certified oppressions that make the Left readily identifiable." His own attitude toward oppression is seen in a sexist reference to an independent man who "left no hooks for a woman to get into him" and in equating Black resentment of Whites with brutal, indiscriminate assaults on Whites.

To many people, however, the most attractive side of the Left — even the authoritarian Left — has been this support of oppressed sections of society, especially of African-Americans and working people.

Mitchell makes ambiguous criticisms of economic concentration of wealth, but he does not seem to be against capitalism as such. By capitalism I mean production for profit rather than use, a market economy, and wage slavery. His attacks on "community" seem to rule out any kind of a cooperative, planned economy, no matter how decentralized or radically democratic.

Finally he sneers at my criticism of the Libertarian Party, that the LP objects to "child labor laws." From this he leaps to the charge that I want more laws, and even that "Price is a Democrat." (If he knew me at all, he would know what an insult this last is!) I must admit, so long as socialist anarchy has not yet been achieved, I would prefer capitalism and the state with child labor laws to capitalism and the state with no child labor laws. My highest priority here is the defense of

working class children from the capitalists (and their parents), not defense of the capitalists from the state (the concern of the LP and Mitchell).

Disregarding individual quirks, Mitchell's views are held by many other anarchists. He and they are anti-statist but are not against all forms of oppression, including racism, sexism, child exploitation, and capitalism. He is entirely correct when he says that he is not of the Left.

I, on the other hand, try to be a revolutionary, and opponent of all forms of hierarchy, including the state, capitalism, racism and patriarchy, and a supporter of human community and liberation. THEREFORE (I said in my article) I identify myself with the Left and the long tradition of anarchist socialism, in order to DISTINGUISH my views from those of Mitchell, the Libertarian Party, and similar right-wing anarchists. I am proud to continue the work of Bakunin, Kropotkin, the communist anarchists, the anarcho-syndicalists, the Wobblies and the guild socialists.

As for the Marxist-Leninists, it is worth remembering that Lenin denounced anarchists as "ultra-leftists," that is, for being "too far" Left. That is okay with me!

By "the Left" I mean the broad movements of opposition, movements for peace, women's liberation, anti-fascism, and so on. Most of their ranks consider themselves "liberals," "progressives," or "democratic socialists." They have illusions of the state. Nevertheless, these are real movements of opposition and it is essential for anarchists to be part of this Left, participating in these struggles.

Wayne Price
Bronx, New York

LETTERS

little or no women's input and get turned off and/or b) they will hear about the sexism and get angry. By relegating women writers to the "ghetto of women's issues" you are emulating the larger society (yet again) that you are claiming to want to smash. What is perceived as traditionally "women's issues" is very important and very real but so is hearing women's voices about all the other isms listed in your political statement. Following this process all oppressed people end up only commenting on their individual oppression and leaving the broader commentary to straight white men. If Love and Rage really wants to be relevant to anyone outside of its own group, then it is going to have to culturally diversify itself, or it might as well start advertising for new subscribers in the philosophy departments of ivy league universities.

Love and Rage calls itself a news-monthly. Is it a news-monthly which in-

fully reform itself into anarchism. I don't think so.

He then picks two key issues to denounce the whole Left — not just Leninists or Marxists or state socialists. His first issue, posed abstractly, is the Left's belief in "the interests of the community." He insists that this must mean the subordination of the individual to the totalitarian collective. I, on the other hand, believe that individual

Love and Rage is created by the Love and Rage Network, a group of supporters who are in general agreement with the Love and Rage Political Statement and contribute time, money, and energy to Love and Rage. Major decisions and overall policy are made when all the supporters gather for a conference — roughly once a year. Less major interim decisions (consistent with decisions of the conference) are made by a Network Council of people from many regions that meets least once between conferences. Any group with a genuine interest in the project may send 2 voting delegates to Network Council meetings. Decisions requiring faster action (consistent with decisions of the conference and Network Council) are made by an elected Coordinating Group which consults with the Production Group (PG) by phone and mail. Day to day decisions are made by the PG, resident in New York City, where the paper is published. In some cities and regions, Love and Rage supporters have organized themselves to cooperate in support of the paper on the local level and they

sometimes plug into the rest of the network through their group or collective. Other supporters work alone.

Most Love and Rage supporters are active in efforts to change the world above and beyond publishing Love and Rage. Supporters are involved in a broad range of local groups and non-groups, publications of various sorts, and issue networks and organizations that work nationally and internationally, and they often write about their activities in Love and Rage.

The Love and Rage Network is not a closed circle of friends. If you are in general agreement with the Political Statement and are comfortable pledging your time, energy or money to our joint effort, you can become part of the Network and participate fully in the decision making process. Ask the person who sold or gave you the paper, or write to:

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(PG Members who didn't work on this issue are marked with an "*")

Translations:
Alvaro*, Gustavo, Nina*, Eugenio,
Kathy*, Astrid

We try to go to press by the second weekend of each month, so we ask that submissions be in the office by the first of the month. We try to mail

the issues by the third weekend of each month, though that is often not possible because we don't have the money. Some months we produce an 8 page "Broadsheet" edition instead of our regular 16 page full size edition. We do this because we think getting a paper to you every month is more important than waiting until we have enough money to do a full edition. If you are having trouble getting the paper please call the office.

Boring Disclaimer:

Look. Articles, letters, Notes of Revolt, and other things printed in Love and Rage do not necessarily represent the opinions or views of the Production Group, Coordinating Group, Network Council, Conference or anyone involved in the Love and Rage Network. We print a variety of articles for a variety of reasons, including articles we don't agree with because we believe that they are interesting or provocative. So there.

DISCUSSION BULLETIN

Available for some stamps from:
Love and Rage Supporters
PO Box 581354
Minneapolis, MN 55458-1354

IN THE BELLY OF THE BEAST

CONFRONTATIONALIST POLITICS IN THE US

BY KATE STAR

FROM AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE, the role of confrontational politics in the US is inherently different from that of other countries. The following is some explanation of this view and some information about political involvement and debate within the core of the international, imperialist, capitalist economy.

People in the US are exposed to a massive dose of capitalist and imperialist propaganda in the form of advertising, vacuous political processes, blacked-out and censored press reports, and shitty education in history and economics (if any at all). What results is a population of ignorant, passive, alienated, and politically-disempowered people. This is exactly what the global capitalist market needs. The core nations consume the vast majority of all of capitalism's final products. This would not be possible if consumers knew the extent of the oppression and exploitation involved in that production. It has been a deliberate policy within the US to break up community in general, to divide the labor force by race, to infiltrate and crush revolutionary elements of all sectors of the society, to buy off and commodify oppositional politics, and to characterize anti-capitalism worldwide as terrorism and as a further argument for war, domestically and internationally.

Capitalism is always looking for ways to expand the market and to make its exploitative production easier and more efficient. The free-trade agreements with Canada and Mexico are a free reign for capital, with Canada plundered for resources and Mexico for cheap labour, and the US reserved as both management and consumption.

The internationalization of capital has made the domestic population of color virtually unnecessary for efficient production, and recent US policy has shown that it will take any opportunity to tighten immigration, to use people of color as cannon fodder, to drive blacks out of the city, to cut jobs at the same time as cutting social services, to import

from the third world and the internal colonies within the core, it is a racist and irresponsible decision on the part of those from the core who use this as an argument not to take radical confrontational action from their own vantage point. Each sector of the society must reject the role it plays in international domination. For example, the white working class in the US has been bought off and pitted against workers of color historically, so it must organize on an anti-racist and internationalist anti-capitalist basis. The shrinking middle class must reject the role of over-consuming managerial policemen in the economic sphere. What it means to be internationalist from within the core is to attack the core, to make financial capital feel the effects of their actions, to break down the production/consumption cycle, to expose the militarism of the state, to be ungovernable. It is not enough for people in the core to abdicate power. We must fight the power head on, full force.

There is no single anarchist organization in the US and there is fairly strong opposition to the formation of a single anarchist federation for so large and diverse a movement. Anarchists in the US are actively involved in an enormous variety of struggles, fighting against racism, sexism, fascism, environmental destruction, gentrification, police brutality, alienating technology, work, AIDS, imperialist war, homelessness, deportation, animal slavery, homophobia, taxation, and toxicity in our communities. Anarchists are involved in work for native rights, abortion rights, better educa-

(Continued to page 11)

Affirmations

*I am invisible to the cops.
I can overthrow the government by myself.
My bricks have wings.
My license plate is illegible.
I am visualizing Industrial Collapse.
At the count of 1,2,3, humanity
will snap out of it.
I am protected by the goodwill of all species.
I have natural camouflage. I'm indistinguishable
from a bulldozer or power tower.
Petroleum will soon run out.
The infrastructure will crumble.
Civilization will dissolve into low-tech
communities. Time will heal all planetary ills.
Every step I take I grow in guile and efficacy.
I can sway the group mind of my affinity group.
I can beat five felony charges, effortlessly.
I will pay no fines.
The life force is on my side.*

(repeat three times daily, as needed)

Anti-Fascist Street Action

BY MCKAY RUSSO

IN RESPONSE TO A WEEKEND OF neo-fascist violence in Thuringen, Germany, a group of 50 youths held a street action calling on the citizens of the city of Jena to not remain silent, to confront the violence.

Fifty years after the Wannsee Conference where the "final solution" to the "Jewish Question" was decided, neo-fascists struck a wave of violence in this former East German state.

In Eisenach, a Cuban was sent to the hospital after being beaten by five nazi-skins. In Erfurt, a Vietnamese was beaten and robbed of \$2000. In Apolda, a movie theater which didn't allow Nazi skins was overrun by ten of them, who beat the manager. In Saalefeld a 50 year old man fired a pistol at soldiers of the former Soviet Army and ran into three of them with his car. In Jena, two carloads of skinheads chased a group of Autonomen (anarchist punks) who tried to escape by jumping the fence of the night police watch, where one Bulle (pig) was on duty. Not that this helped. As the Bulle looked on, the skin managed to attack a Chilean punk with baseball bats, breaking his wrist, on police grounds!

It's important to note that this weekend was only an extreme example of the fascist violence that is normal in this former "worker and farmer paradise."

In response to this wave of violence 50 Autonomen, alternative students and various other progressives came together on January 23 for an imaginative street action. After gathering in a circle on a crowded pedestrian street in Jena, activists poured blood (donated by a butcher) onto the street as three others screamed and fell to the ground, "dead." Their outlines were painted white along with the word "violence!" and a baseball bat was left by the bodies.

A small speech was delivered by the student chaplain and flyers were handed out calling on the citizens of Jena to "overcome your fear, to speak with one another, to not look away when witnessing violence, to call for help, to confront the violence. The responsibility we carry ourselves. We mustn't grow accustomed to the violence." As we exited, we left lit candles by the body outlines.

By most accounts the action was a success. Many people stopped and watched and even more people stopped at the action site in the following days, confronted

by the outlines and blood. Around the site we left posters explaining the action.

An additional benefit of this action was the effect it had on the groups participating. Too often the Autonomen here see the only response to fascist violence as anti-fascist violence. A traditional response to the attack in Jena would be to go to a nazi-skin hangout and beat the shit out of them. This limitation of available actions to anti-fascist organizers excludes many more creative and often more effective action forms.

In the case of our street action, Autonomen participated (some hesitantly) in a successful creative response to fascist violence. This will hopefully open up new possibilities for Autonomen action in Jena.

The other major group participating in this action, alternative students, have another problem. These students often criticize the Autonomen for their violent response to rising neo-fascism. They say such things like "they're just as bad as the skins." But these students themselves often do nothing to counter neo-fascism and German racism. Hopefully this action will show progressive students that something can be done to combat racism and fascist violence. ★



drugs into the ghetto, and to imprison people of color; in effect, to reserve the spoils of the system for an ever-smaller sector of the white population.

In light of the above, it is necessary to define specific revolutionary roles based on specific positions played within the capitalist structure. While obviously the bulk of revolutionary momentum against global capitalism must come

The following groups support *Love and Rage*. If you like what you see in *Love and Rage* and would like to find out more about revolutionary anarchism, contact the group closest to you.

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Minneapolis, MN 55407

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PO Box 3 Prince St Station
New York, NY 10012

Autonome Forum
PO Box 366
Williamstown, MA 01267

Art Decco
PO Box 12504
Raleigh, NC 27605

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PO Box 5236
Atlanta, GA 30307

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Cincinnati, OH 45219

Liberate the Obsessed
PO Box 1916
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Miami, FL 33245

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PO Box 365
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New York, NY 10013-0365

Revolutionary Group X
PO Box 6022
Chicago, IL 60680

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1126 Marais
New Orleans, LA 70116

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Suite 147, 3325 Lorna Rd #2
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Ottawa, ONT K1F 5B1

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PO Box 2163 Station D
Ottawa, ONT K1P 5W4

Arm The Spirit
PO Box 57584 Jackson Station
Hamilton, ONT L8P 4X3

Ecomedia Toronto
PO Box 915, Station F
Toronto, ONT M4Y 2N9

Community Charge
PO Box 57069 Jackson Station
Hamilton, ONT L8P 4W9

MEXICO

Amor y Rabia
Apartado Postal 11-351
CP. 06101 Mexico, D.F. Mexico



Greek Anarchists Under Fire

We have received a lot of material about the situation in Greece, and the following is an attempt to set down the recent history, and air some of the theoretical and analytical discussions that are being generated.

[Greece, The Balkans, and Nationalism]

The Balkans are up in flames once again this century; what was once called the powder-keg of Europe remains faithful to its name. The nationalistic fervor, that has armed itself in the tenuous federated state of Yugoslavia (see *Love and Rage*, August 1991 Vol.2 No.7), is not just the sprouting seed of age-old animosities. It carries within it an explosive dynamic that could seriously affect the region as well as mother Europe.

Greece is entering the seventh year of an austerity program which seems to have no end. Wages have been fixed for years and the standard of living has been radically reduced. Thousands of workers are being laid off in Greek Capital's furious attempt to assure better terms of competition, but the effort does not only contain itself in the reconstructing of industry. A change in the nature and orientation of industry would be useless without creating a smooth and modern managerial caste to promote the interests of the private sector...If the crisis of Greek Capitalism is a structural one, the problems and social crises which it causes are real ones. Strikes, blockades, violent reactions to government policies are becoming almost an everyday reality.

[Greek Student Revolts Last Winter (1991)]

Last year, after a short interval (1981-1989) of an "educational reform," the Ministry of Education announced its intention to impose on the schoolchildren to pray every morning and to wear a uniform. This was the start of the unrest. It was soon followed by the other oppressive measures, such as more school hours, reinsertion of ancient Greek lessons into the program of high schools, etc. Schoolchildren reacted, occupying their schools (in

January 1990, more than 90% of the schools throughout the country were occupied by their pupils). The government organized an operation — mainly based on the mobilization of parents against their children's will and interests — which led to the assassination of Nikos Temponeras, a teacher who was supporting the children's struggle, and four other people who were burned alive by the cops during the demonstrations that followed the first murder.

The bursting out of the Gulf War, finally, put an end to the unrest — if not revolt — which had already infected the technical schools and universities and had gained support, thus seriously threatening the government. During the summer, the government tried to gain the consensus of the political parties of the opposition and started a "national dialogue on education." The opposition, but also the teachers' unions and, above all, the schoolchildren, rejected the government's proposals.

[Anarchists Targeted in Crackdown in the Fall of 1991 — from Ecomedia Toronto]

More than a hundred Greek radicals, primarily anarchists and student militants, were arrested in three separate incidents in a week-long show of force by Greek authorities. Many have already been tried, convicted, and imprisoned. Others mounted a hungerstrike and were released pending appeal. Still more were released without charge.

On October 26, students demonstrated against proposals for education reform at the Polytechnic, the usual site of demonstrations. In an unusual move, police surrounded the Polytechnic, raising fears of a major attack (in 1973, 200-300 people were killed when the Polytechnic was invaded by the army under the last dictatorship). By tradition, but also by law, the police are prohibited from entering the campus.

School authorities granted permission for police to enter the campus when a fire broke out. Police attacked the crowd, arresting 32 people. The actual cause of the fire has not been determined: quite possibly it was a police tear gas canister.

Under Greek law, anyone "caught while committing a crime" can be sent directly to trial, making defense difficult to prepare. The 32 defendants were convicted within a week. Twenty-one of 27 caught inside the school were convicted on a variety of charges: 8 were fined, 13 were given 2-3 year sentences. All five of those caught outside were convicted, including a 17-year old woman who was part of a couple just passing by. She got 5 years. Four men got between five and eight years. One got seven years for throwing a box on a fire. Most of those arrested were between the ages of 17 and 20.

On November 2, 23 people were arrested as they finished putting up posters to protest the original arrests, speedy trials, and harsh sentences. The slogan for one of the posters reads: "It's easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a politician, journalist, or cop to tell the truth." A second poster compared the framing of the anarchists on arson charges to the 1933 burning of the Reichstag in Germany by the nazis, who then blamed it on the communists. They were charged with illegal posting, obstructing traffic, mobilizing people against the state, spreading false information, and damaging public property. These charges are the equivalent of sedition laws.

These 33 defendants immediately began a hunger-strike demanding their release, which lasted for ten days. They were beaten, tortured, and women were strip-searched.

The trial began November 4, two days after their arrests. In spite of the minor nature of the charges, the defendants were shackled while in court. Attempts

were also made to like them to a guerilla group. The defendants were convicted of the illegal posting charge, sentenced to 6 months in prison, and were released on November 13, pending appeal. No one has ever been convicted on this charge before: everyone posters, including political parties.

More than 45 people were arrested at the demonstration the posters were promoting, but were released without charge within 24 hours. There were also demonstrations of support for the prisoners outside the court house. Documentation of the torture of the 33 has been given to Amnesty International in Athens, the European Council for Human Rights, and the European Parliament. Lawyers for the defense include members of the European Parliament and well known left-wing lawyers. The crackdown has become a major concern.

The Greek government is facing pressure to "clean up" the radicals before the unification of Europe in 1992, to create a climate more conducive to investment. The Minister of Public Order was quoted as saying that he sanctioned the arrests and that he wanted to clear out the anarchists. An ongoing embarrassment to the government is "November 17th," who have waged guerilla warfare against business and government targets, and assassinated American military personnel. In spite of several years of activity by November 17th, no one from the group has ever been arrested. Some analysts say that the crackdown against the more vulnerable, more easily-targeted anarchists is a compensatory move to appease the European Economic Community, International Monetary Fund, and World Bank. ★



Women protest for abortion rights in Ireland. After the Irish high court forbid a woman to travel to England to abort a pregnancy caused by a rape, women protested in the streets, both for abortion to be legalized in Ireland, and for the woman to be allowed to travel to England.

Oldman River Struggle

ON AUGUST 2, 1990 a group of Peigan Natives established a camp alongside the Oldman River in Alberta to protest the building of a \$355-million dam project ten miles upstream from the Peigan Reserve. Members of the Peigan Lonefighters Society began diverting the river using an excavator — attempting to change the course of the river and bypass the site of the dam project.

A court injunction was served against the Lonefighters and on September 7 over two dozen heavily armed police surrounded their camp. It was later revealed that there were more than a hundred police in the immediate area. Milton Born With A Tooth, a leader of the Lonefighters Society, fired two warning shots into the air, and the police retreated. Milton was arrested on September 12 and served almost 4 months in pre-trial custody. On March 25, 1991 Milton was sentenced to a year and a half for weapons-related offenses and lesser charges. He was released on bail during his appeal of these convictions.

The Lonefighters National Communication Network continues to resist the damming of the Oldman, even though the waters in the dammed-in reservoir are beginning to rise. Currently, they are challenging the project by charging the government with failure to properly research the effects of the project in terms of their environmental and social impact as required by Canadian law. Not only will the diversion of the river disrupt the lives and economy of the Peigans in the present, it will totally destroy an archaeological history dating back at least 6,800 years.

The Lonefighters are asking that people write to the Federal Ministry of the Environment demanding that it resubmit the Old Man River diversion to the Federal Environmental Review Process to fully take the needs of the Peigan and other area residents into consideration. Write:

Ministry of the Environment c/o House of Commons
Ottawa, Ontario, CANADA

Lonefighters National Communications Network
455-12 St NW
Calgary, Alberta T2N 1Y9 CANADA

- from Prison News Service

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PART Pestors Populists

PEOPLE AGAINST RACIST TERROR (PART) a Burbank, California anti-racist group, has been frustrating the organizing efforts of the racist Populist Party. Seems the populists keep trying to secure meeting spaces and times under false pretenses, using front-groups and phony events to mask their identity; PART has successfully exposed several of these meetings and thus lead the would-be "hosts" to deny the Populists a venue.

In their newsletter, *Turning The Tide*, PART writes: "[The Populists are] succeeding in building a unit-

edfrontofracistsandradicalrightists, legitimizing the white supremacist politics of its leadership of "former" Klansmen and nazis. Participants at [a recent Populist conference] ranged from nazi-boneheads to John Birch Society members to right wing tax protesters and gun enthusiasts. In a very disturbing development, a representative of the Libertarian Party accepted an invitation...to speak."

In addition to pestering populists, PART unnerves nazis, defeats Dukes, crushes Klansmen, and routs racists.

For more information:

People Against Racist Terror
PO Box 1990
Burbank, CA 91507

Iran Tortures Workers

DURING THE PAST 13 YEARS, the Islamic Republic of Iran has continued to violate the rights of workers. Hundreds of labor activists have been arrested, tortured, and executed. Last year, the government passed a Labor Law which denies workers the right to strike or to form independent labor organizations and unions. Further, the regime has continuously suppressed strikes and workers' actions.

In April of 1990 Jamal Cherahg-Vaissy, a utility worker, was executed. A short time later, Abdollah Beyvaseh was executed. It appears that both men were executed because of their labor activities.

Since the summer of 1991 the Iranian government has stepped up its repression against workers. The latest detainees are Saleed Saedi and Zahed Manouchehri, both activists in unions. As of late December 1991, the detained workers are being held incommunicado, and no information is being released about their condition.

The Worker's Solidarity Alliance is calling for international support for these workers. They are planning pickets at Iranian embassies on April 10th from 5 to 6 PM. Also, local and branch unions are being asked to pass resolutions of support for the imprisoned workers and condemnation of the continuing repression and executions.

Worker's Solidarity Alliance
339 Lafayette St Room 202
New York, NY 10012

NOTES of revolt

Demo Report

ON JANUARY 25 a broad grouping of anti-Nazi forces held a demonstration in Seattle. Although the action was called by local anarchists, it was attributed in the press to the RCP and the United Front Against Fascism. [Note: We hear that some people have stopped working with UFAF because of perceived domination by the Freedom Socialist Party.]

The action started with people in a lively mood, what with spraypainting and signs and banners. As the march progressed, the crowd grew to an estimated 400 strong. Despite some people's thoughts that the Nazis would not risk a confrontation with such a large crowd, 10 to 13 Nazi-skins did show up. They were showered with garbage and rotten eggs until the police came to their defense.

After a rally at Seattle Central Community College, the rally split — some leaving because they didn't want further confrontations with police, and some continuing on to rally at the Capital Hill Police Station. In particular, demonstrators were outraged at the police response to a racist attack that had occurred on Christmas Eve. A 50 year-old Black man was attacked by eight Nazi-skins; he pulled a knife to defend himself, they took it away, stabbed him with it, and beat him. The police refused to classify this a bias crime because the man defended himself — and thus, in police logic, must have provoked the fight somehow, rather than defending himself against people who publicly advocate attacking people like him.

The demo ended, after a spirited tussle with the cops which resulted in several arrests and many bruises, with a few more speeches.

Seattle anarchists have decided to form an Anti-Racist Action. So far, it has been suggested that the ARA be a loose network with democratic decision making, and that no one tendency be allowed to dominate.

- from a report by Richard Mote

Notes From México

THE FOLLOWING is some fragments from a letter from D.L., our roving reporter in México.

"I visited a food co-op in the barrio of Neza yesterday. They are trying to organize around @ principles but it's hard to make ends meet...they need information on the way things are done in other places. They need info in Spanish on re-cycling, AIDS, squats, creative co-op methods, and birth control. Information is very hard to get on these subjects. It may seem small to you but it's not to them.

All info can be sent to:

"The Neza Coop"
c/o Enrique Lozano calle Halpan #285
Col. V. Villada,
Cd. Neza,
Edo. México, Cp. 57710.
MEXICO

QUEER NATION has launched a nationwide boycott against the Boy Scouts and the United Way, a primary underwriter of the Boy Scouts, because the Scouts refuse to allow queer scouts or Scout Masters into their organization. The Boy Scouts, a private organization which legally can discriminate in this heinous way, receives funding from the United Way, and even some federal dough.

The Boy Scouts say that queer kids in the scout dens are not consistent with the Scouts' "traditional, heterosexual values." Queer Nation is trying to pressure the US government and the United Way to remove their funding to try to force the Scouts to change their tune.

At a February 11 demonstration in Washington, DC, the Queer Scouts, wearing Boy Scout insignia, chanted: "Scout's Honor: We're Queer!", "Ban Boy Scout Bigotry," and "We Blow We-belos."

Queer Nation
(212) 978 8720



ANARCHIST CALENDAR

28th - 31st March
SECOND INTERAMERICAN GATHERING
OF THE INTERNATIONAL
WORKER'S ASSOCIATION
Sao Paulo, Brazil

International Secretary c/o WSA
PO Box 1197
San Antonio, TX 78294

April 5th
ANARCHIST CONTINGENT TO THE NOW
MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Call Love and Rage (212) 925 7966

April 10th - 11th
MIDWEST ECO-@/ AUTONOMOUS
GREEN CONFERENCE
Carleton College in Northfield, MN

Cindy
(612) 823 3468

May 1st - 3rd
INTERNATIONAL @ MEETING
Paris, France
Humeure Noires - EDITION
B.P. 79 59370 Mons-En-Baroeul
FRANCE

May 8th - 11th
NATIONAL ATF GATHERING/ REGIONAL
MIDWEST GATHERING
Antioch College, Yellow Springs Ohio
Dayton Anarchist Collective
PO Box 3316
Dayton, OH 45401

Sometime this Spring
WEST COAST @
GATHERING
(Between San Diego and Vancouver)

Stefan Wray
2440 16th Street, Box 241
San Francisco, CA 94103

College Crushes Co-ops ?

FOR OVER 15 YEARS students at the University of California at San Diego (UCSD) have run non-profit, worker-owned co-operatives on campus, providing an estimated \$2.5 million of goods and services annually to the university and community. Not only do these co-ops provide students with merchandise at substantially lower prices than campus and local for-profit, hierarchical businesses, they are one of the few living examples of "progressive culture" in the San Diego/Tijuana area, and generations of activists have worked and learned through the co-ops.

The UCSD administration has never liked the co-ops, and has tried repeatedly through the years to shut them down. On January 15, 1992 the UCSD administration changed the locks at the General Store Co-op, locking collective members out of their own store and forcing them to break a window to enter. The action came just one day before negotiations between the administration and the co-ops were to begin. Late last fall, the university unilaterally closed Groundwork, a co-op bookstore, for allegedly hiring an outside agency to provide some labor services. Although the range of possibilities for resolving this conflict is large, the university insisted that the co-op close immediately, and only the threat of legal action forced them to allow Groundwork to re-open, temporarily.

Now the United Cooperative Association (UCA) is trying to turn back the administration's latest attacks. They need support and money for legal costs. For more information about this struggle contact UCSD's alternative student paper:

The New Indicator
3023 Student Co-op Center UCSD
9500 Gilman Drive
La Jolla, CA 92093-0323

Queer Scouts Love Camp!



Anarchist Black Cross

RUSSIAN ANARCHIST PUNKS GET 3 YEARS

YELTSIN'S FIRST POLITICAL PRISONERS NEED YOUR HELP

ON MONDAY the 10th of February, 1992, two Moscow anarchists were sentenced to three years of imprisonment for resisting a brutal attack from the side of two KGB agents in civilian clothes. The same day a spontaneous demonstration of anarchists took place in the center of the city — protesters blocked the traffic on Gorky Street. Soon after that the special troops attacked the demo using batons and heavy boots and arrested 19 people including two 13 year old girls. Because of support from radical socialist deputies of the Moscow Soviet (City Council) they were released five hours later. But two of our comrades, Alexei Rodionov and Alexander Kuznetsov, are still imprisoned and we appeal for your help.

PRE-HISTORY OF THE CASE

Alexei Rodionov and Alexander Kuznetsov, two Moscow anarchists, 17 and 18 years old respectively, were arrested on March 12th, 1991, on the way to a demonstration held by the Democratic Union to commemorate the 74th anniversary of February Revolution. Rodionov and Kuznetsov have been held in the KGB jail for the last seven and a half months, awaiting trial on charges of hooliganism and resisting arrest.

It's hard to say what the police version of the story is, because they've changed it every time it has become evident that what they say is untrue. Basically they say that two punks were disturbing and accosting passerby in the Dzerzhinskaya Square underpass, and that they attacked two KGB agents in civilian clothes. So these "poor gentlemen" had to beat them and appeal to troops of the special militia to assist in their arrest. During this time they say the anarchists attacked and injured them with a knife and razor.

Rodionov and Kuznetsov say that on the way to demonstration they were attacked by two men who they had no reason to believe were police. They were punched and kicked to the ground and one of them was knocked unconscious. After this they were taken to a police bus, where they were beaten once more and had their hair forcibly cut. Here they were searched and a knife and razor were found on them.

Since then they were held in the KGB prison in Lefortovo, in a thirty person cell which now actually holds seventy. They only managed about three hours sleep at night, and during the first month they were not allowed to get legal help because their injuries were too bad. They were taken for questioning every morning at 4 AM and returned to the cell at 12 PM. When it came time for the court appearance, Kuznetsov was so sick he could not be moved from the prison hospital.

That sounds like a very drastic treatment for a couple of punks arrested almost by accident. But as far as the prison system is concerned they are not even human beings. Their clothes and their ideas are an affront to the repressive system. Just as in Brezhnev years the police use the criminal code against political activities.

After we got no response from the media, Moscow anarchists from various groups organized a hunger strike outside the Russian White House in October. Because they managed to attract some attention from a number of Moscow Soviet deputies and Russian parliamentarians, Rodionov and Kuznetsov were released pending the court appearance.

This kind of charge, hooliganism, is a routine procedure, and is normally dealt with in a day. This time it took 4 months, as the court and the prosecution constantly sought to delay proceedings. Finally, when media interest in the case was low, and after the prosecution had convinced every sane person that their mouths were full of lies, they were found guilty and sentenced to three years.

After the evidence presented by the defence it became obvious that the investigation was conducted in a completely improper way. The "injuries" of the police, it turned out, could not have been done by razors and knives. The police got caught in a contradiction between their need to boast and the needs of their story. On the one hand they told that they got the punks to the ground in a second, on the other they claimed they were badly injured by them.

Also, even though all the witnesses were the witnesses for the prosecution, they could not manage to get them to confirm the police version of events.

We tried our best to attract public attention to the case, because it's the first political trial of the so called "democratic" regime. But there are great obstacles to us because it's clear that the media is controlled by the government and they will try to present both the imprisoned anarchists and their supporters as criminals. Their aim is to use this case to intimidate the whole opposition, and to demonstrate that the court system is firmly under their control.

Nevertheless they are vulnerable to international pressure because the Yeltsin regime needs to maintain its human face so as not to jeopardize the flow of financial aid. On February 29 we are going to hold one more demonstration aiming to attract public attention to the case and force the authorities to release our comrades and stop this political trial. So we ask you to demonstrate outside the Soviet consulates in your countries on the 28th of February and make that day the international day of support for Rodionov and Kuznetsov. As experience shows, Soviet authorities pay attention to actions in front of Soviet consulates and at least inform Moscow about them. It's vital that not only anarchists should be active in these campaigns because this trial opens the way to a new wave of dissident repression in Russia. If the state will manage to use the old machine of repression against two punks, whom nobody cares about, it will soon extend its reach.

"PROTEST OUTSIDE THE SOVIET CONSULATES ON FEBRUARY 28, 1992 AGAINST POLITICAL REPRESSIONS IN RUSSIA!"

It's necessary that you send us the information about your actions as soon as possible. For these purpose and to request more information you can use the address and telephones below:

109462 MOSCOW, VOLZHINSKY
BOULEVARD 21-62,
MIKHAIL TSOVMA, RUSSIA
tel. (095) 921-06-55 KAS-KOR

(Please, ask to record your info on the call-answerer in day-time or just record it at night-time.)

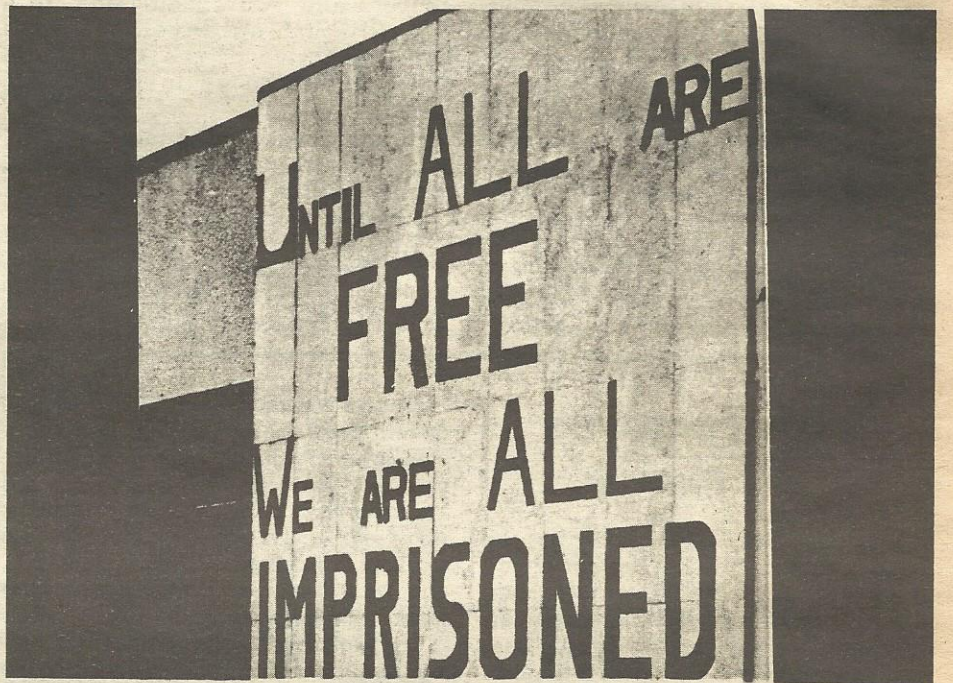
(095) 179-13-95 Mikhail Tsovma
(home tel, call from 21 to 23
Moscow time)
(095) 923-46-65 Solidarity Newspaper,
call Mikhail Tsovma from
17 to 21 Moscow time

Compiled by Mikhail Tsovma, international secretary of Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists (KAS), Russia.

[Actions were held in at least Moscow, Krakow, Warsaw, Budapest, Toronto, San Francisco, and NYC.] Neither East Nor West will also be coordinating this campaign.

528 5th Street,
Brooklyn, NY 11215 USA
tel. (718) 499-7720

Also protest letters to Boris Yeltsin, Moscow, Russia, CAN HELP, as letters in the past have helped release political prisoners.



News from Northern Anarchist Black Cross (England and Scotland)

ON JAN. 14 the trial of nine men framed for a murder during the Strangeways prison uprising began. The men on trial are in the first of three groups to be tried, the two remaining groups will be facing riot and assault charges. This first trial is very much a show trial, with incredible security measures, body searches and special passes for visitors to the court room. The prisoners on trial are held in a specially built Dock, with strengthened glass sides and opaque glass top.

Prior to the trial the prisoners were held in isolation for 21 months. Several of the prisoners have been repeatedly drugged for easier control by prison authorities, several of them are now in bad shape from the prolonged drug use.

All of the prisoners have pleaded Not Guilty, but several have since given "confessions" following beatings and harassment. Of the 9, 2 men agreed to inform, but later retracted their statements. One of the 2, JD Spencer, after retracting his statement, was violently beaten by the guards, in view of witnesses during visiting hours.

This is all the information we have about this situation. Manchester ABC sent this info, "Strangeways Bulletin #1," and is producing leaflets, and putting on demos outside the court. They

Police in Denmark Beat Young Activist into Coma

ON NEW YEARS EVE, during the traditional night of bonfires in Copenhagen, police clashed with groups of masked youth. At 15 past midnight police arrested Benjamin, 18, for throwing a bottle at police. The arrest was so violent that he lost consciousness and his heart stopped for at least 10 minutes. As of the 26th of January when this news was sent in the ABC Denmark newsletter he was still in a coma. Benjamin is a member of a children's liberation group, Bornemagt (Children's Power). A demo was staged to protest the brutality, with 7-800 participants. A police station was attacked and trashed. Letters of solidarity should be sent to:

BORNEMAGT c/o UNGDOMSHUSET,
Jagtvej 69, 2200 Kbh. N. Denmark

need donations to help with all this, and are also trying to help the families of the prisoners. You can send letters of support and donations to:

MANCHESTER BLACK CROSS
BOX 8, 1 NEWTON STREET
PICCADILLY, MANCHESTER
m1 18w, ENGLAND

CONTACTS

To learn more about political prisoners, prisoners of war, and prisons in North America, write to any or all of the following groups:

Anarchist Black Cross Toronto
PO Box 6326 Station A
Toronto, ONT M5W 1P7
CANADA

Bulldozer
PO Box 5052 Station A
Toronto, ONT M5W 1W4
CANADA

Through The Walls
472 Albert St
Kingston, ONT K7L 3W3
CANADA

Anarchist Black Cross Vancouver
PO Box 2881
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X4
CANADA

Wimmin Prisoner
Support Network
PO Box 770, Station P
Toronto, ONT M5S 2Z1
CANADA

Project 1313
PO Box 1313
Lawrence, KS 66044

Anarchist Black Cross New York
PO Box 20521
Tompkins Square Station
New York, NY 10009

Anarchist Black Cross
San Lorenzo PO Box 215
San Lorenzo, CA 94580

Prisoner's Legal News
PO Box 1684
Lake Worth, FL 33460

The ANTI-WARrior
48 Shattuck Sq.
Berkeley, CA 94704

Leonard Peltier
Defense Committee
PO Box 583
Lawrence, KS 66044

Committee to End
The Marion Lockdown
343 S. Dearborn, Suite 1607
Chicago, IL 60604

Friends of Liberty
Box 95686
Seattle, WA 98145-2686

Anarchist Black Cross
Latino Americana
PO Box 451208
Miami, FL 33245

What differentiates anarchism from an authoritarian politics on the most basic level is its strategic focus on empowerment.

Rather than proclaim ourselves as the vanguard who will lead and speak for others, anarchists have historically organized in a radically democratic fashion. Richard Blake's approach in "Porn in Flames," directly contradicts this basic tenet. Women emerge from Richard's flames seriously charred, not as empowered or even potentially empowered people, but as pure dupes.

In Richard's system, all women in the sex industry are victims even if they claim otherwise. Moreover, he claims that porn affects our culture in such a way that it effectively steals all women's chances for self-determination. For Susan Griffin, a woman willing to reveal her body is "not defiant. She has been paid to take of her clothing.... She is a chattel. When she is chained, her chains are redundant, for we know that she is not a free being.... She plays the whore. For she is literally for sale.... And now as her likeness shines out onto the public sidewalk, she has become all women.... For this picture of the body has become a metaphor, in its anonymity...for all women's bodies. Each sale of a pornographic image is a sadistic act which accomplishes the humiliation of all women."

Love

and

Justice?

There is no way out; no possibility of pleasure or freedom. Griffin's words are merely more dramatic than Richard's: "Pornography comes from, and in its turn promotes, a culture of sexual terrorism in which true 'consent' is not even imaginable for most women in the world today."

It should come as no surprise that I was one that opposed the anti-porn clause at the Love and Rage conference. Although I can't speak for everyone who opposed the statement, I think that Richard misrepresented the opposition in the service of his own argument. In fact, his statement never actually quotes the compromise the two sides finally reached. But then again I guess I can't blame him for this since the changes are still not recorded in the "revised" political statement despite my protests to the facilitator who admitted to not having the final revisions, and received my only copy of them in the mail over two months ago. The compromise was significant, and though I don't have the actual wording anymore, it went something like this: We oppose the commodification of women's bodies for male consumption, and we confirm the need for women to explore their own sexuality." More or less. Though I still think it has some problems (why single out the sex industry?), this compromise matters because it

**No, sex is not inherently liberating,
but potentially liberating and a sphere of creativity,
pleasure and sharing, like many aspects of life.**

disproves Richard's claim that his dissenting comrades are pro-porn or think that porn somehow is anti-authoritarian. We are not pro-porn but pro-sex and very wary of any attempt to impose on women, or anyone for that matter, a definition of "good sex."

I agree with Richard that we should fight the sexual and economic exploitation of women and that the sex industry undoubtedly is one such culprit. One among many. However, the project of fighting exploitation in the sex industry is complicated and definitely not best approached by declaring all its female participants victims and appointing ourselves their benevolent liberators. I wonder if anti-porn folks have ever taken time to read the vast body of work amassed under the pro-sex banner ranging from academic and not so academic feminist theory and fiction through performance art, photography and testimony and theorizing by sex industry workers. Or have they made an effort to talk to sex industry workers? Many of these women find power, pleasure and freedom in their work. In "Porn in Flames," Richard is at pains to deny these women any such agency in their lives.

Consent, for Richard, is a meaningless term and always manufactured if not by advertising or corporate sponsored "news," then by the "porn industry." But if you accept that in our coercive culture consent is always false or duped consent, then there is no way to account for any self-conscious decision by anyone. Miraculously, Richard and other anti-porners manage to escape this pervasive ideology at least enough not only to know what pure, good sex is, but to be able to liberate others from the clutches of "domination and conquest."

Neither, as Richard accuses, am I in favor of a do-nothing attitude toward the exploitation of women in the porn industry. Rather, I'm concerned with the strategy one takes. Women in the sex industry have asked for support in protection and empowerment, not to be rescued or reformed. Viewing sex workers as victims perpetuates their social stigmatization and makes it impossible to seek legal protection if they're being abused, or organize themselves to prevent economic exploitation. This approach of protecting and organizing sex industry workers actually has a long history in the anarchist movement, most notably in the IWW's early 1900's

campaigns organizing prostitutes against police brutality and as advocated in Emma Goldman's writings. Another tack never mentioned by Richard is the larger struggle in which we are all engaged of challenging global capitalism. Surely this exploitative system plays the most coercive pimp, eliminating other options for survival and enslaving women to its bosses and soldiers around the world.

One question that continues to pop up is why concentrate so much attention on the sex industry? Women are exploited in so many institutions, notably the family or even heterosexuality in general which is responsible for more violence and economic dependency than the porn industry could muster. The list goes on and on: the electronics industry physically impairs third world women by the thousands, the textiles and pharmaceuticals industry use millions of women as slave labor, professionalized medicine treats women like an unknown species, etc, etc. And why do so many anti-sexist men fall into the Dworkin anti-porn camp? Is it just me or is there

virtually no discussion on the parameters of male sexuality and porn? Here I'll engage some widespread speculation that I wouldn't want to make stick to Richard. Perhaps all this time is spent worrying about women's sexuality because sex is a potential source of dreaded female power. Maybe even more threatening is the potential for economic independence offered by the sex industry. As one sex industry activist suspects, "women are being put in jail for asking for money."

But my problem with the anti-porn activists that I've come into contact with does not hinge on their approach to the sex industry. Many anti-porn activists seem to direct their energy elsewhere. One familiar approach to anti-porn work is to attack porn as the cause of sexism and other exploitive behaviour. To make anti-porn the spearhead of the anti-sexist struggle seems fanatical to me, and for this reason I question the practice of attacking intra-group gender dynamics from this angle. You don't have to read porn to be a sexist pig! Perhaps the focus on porn is more a dictate of the larger quest for "sexual justice." This phrase makes me cringe. I

could see the masthead now: Love and Justice! Rage is merely a product of patriarchal society and should be purged, especially as ironic fuel for fantasy. I for one don't want any judges in my bedroom. Even more unfortunately, the efforts of anti-porn activists have not been directed at Playboy or Hustler but at enforcing their ideas of sexual justice in the feminist community, resulting in such debacles as mixed-sex "radical" groups militantly protesting lesbian discussions or depictions of S&M, or groups of women attempting to shut down a feminist conference entitled Pleasure and Danger which set out to discuss the complexity of women's sexual experience. If this is sexual justice, I'm proud to be a fugitive from the law.

No, sex is not inherently liberating, but as Richard states, a potentially liberating and a sphere of creativity, pleasure and sharing, like many aspects of life. And, if sexuality, as he stresses, is "deeply colonized and distorted... like everything else in this society," then how can we have access to a "pure" sexuality, magically outside this colonized culture? We only have so much to work with here, but this shouldn't be cause for despair. We can go beyond the decades-

old porn debates to suggest a theory of resistance that doesn't rely on some myth of a pure and saving grace of sexuality or condemn certain practices as necessarily just a replication of patriarchal norms. For example, drag, lesbian butch/femme and other role playing can be seen as a way to potentially subvert the "naturalness" of gender itself. Just as African-American culture's appropriation of dominant cultural symbols, under certain conditions can be subversive (sporting baseball hats, sampling in rap and hip hop), so repetition of dominant cultural practices by lesbian and gay culture, for example can't be understood as simple repetition or false "patriarchal" consciousness, but as potentially not only transgressing but ultimately transforming.

My experience of anti-porn has been one of a dogmatism where women are viewed as victims operating only out of false consciousness, while only a choice few know what "just" sex is and they're out to enforce it, not primarily in the sex industry but the feminist and especially the lesbian community. I and many others saw the changes to the anti-sexist statement along with a couple of other revisions to the political statement as something of a victory over this kind of puritanical dogmatism which threatens to become the Love and Rage party line. ★

Recommended Readings:

Pleasure and Danger, ed. Carol Vance. Highly recommended collection of talks from the conference mentioned above that was militantly protested by anti-porners.

Caught Looking: Feminists, Pornography, Censorship. The Real Comet Press. Good short pieces and pictures!

"Angry Women" new issue of *ReSearch* with many excellent interviews with porn stars, performance artists and authors.

Good Girls Bad Girls: Feminists and Sex Trade Workers Face to Face. Introduction and talks from a conference in Canada.

"Feminism and Sadomasochism," in the *CoEvolution Quarterly*, Spring 1982. By Pat Califia, also author of *Macho Sluts*.

Gender Trouble, by Judith Butler. Academic but brilliant.

Hard Core. Linda Williams on hard core porn, also academic.

Sex Work. Writings by women in the industry.

Coming to Power, ed. SAMOIS. Essays on S&M, butch/femme, roles. Writings by Pat Califia, Gayle Rubin, Margaret Hunt.

p o r n d e b a t e

a reply to Richard Blake's "Porn in Flames"

by Laura Lib

I WAS BORN AND GREW UP IN THE IRONBOUND section of Newark, New Jersey. Ironbound is known for its Portuguese restaurants and its toxic wastes. This mostly immigrant community is surrounded by chemical and oil industries, an international airport, the NJ Turnpike, the Garden State Parkway, and other major highways. It gets its name from the fact that it was at one time completely surrounded by railroad tracks. Many factories are interspersed throughout the community, recalling a time when workers lived near to, if not across the street, from their workplace. A time when few were informed of the ill effects of many of the substances being used in these workplaces.

THE INCINERATOR STRIKES BACK

The incinerator in Newark is now a regional facility that requires garbage from neighboring counties to fuel its profits (See *Regeneration* #2, *A Magazine of Left Green Social Thought*, for more on this dilemma). The community is pitted against the County Freeholders of Essex, who cater more to the needs of the wealthier suburbs, the Port Authority (the powerful bistate agency of NY and NJ with little if any public accountability) and American Ref-Fuel (a partnership of Air Products and Chemicals and Browning Ferris Industries).

less than a month a decision could be made on constructing the world's largest sludge incinerator in our community.

We can't just complain without offering alternatives and without being there to understand the histories of the people involved, and the difficulties posed by the systematic oppression they face. We will be discounted.

IRONBOUND UNBOUND

These community organizations are not revolutionary. But revolution is impossible without local self-organization. These groups are fighting for environmental justice and in the process experimenting with empowerment.

We should be involved with community struggles against the destruction of the environment, grappling with all of these hard questions. We should be figuring out how we can respect the autonomy and independence of community-based movements, without sacrificing our

own politics, figuring out what exactly it means to work with "critical solidarity."

In Ironbound, most of the active people are not "leftists," they are school teachers, senior citizens and social service providers.

No one's read Emma Goldman or Murray Bookchin. They are not going to abandon the "lesser of two evil" approach until there are real, not just theoretical, alternatives. In Ironbound they have tried everything. That includes working within the system, petitioning, lobbying, voting and running their own candidate.

In order to offer anarchist ideas we need to respect where these people are coming from and share our ideas with them openly. These groups have tried many tactics and strategies, with wins and losses, and many are open to alternative ways of doing things. But they must know you and trust you. We can not ram our politics down anyone's throat.

With this approach — respectfulness — there are lots of important ways anarchists could be challenging ecological groups. For example, we could raise issues of racism and sexism. Many of the white working class residents of Ironbound have racist attitudes towards blacks and immigrants. In fact some see the continued targeting of Ironbound as a type of reverse racism. A black mayor vs white Ironbound. Racism and the competition for resources divides the various communities which make up Newark, preventing them from joining forces to protect themselves against such things as incinerators. Fighting racism must be an important part of any movement for community self-determination.

In addition, sexism should be challenged. Wommin have always played a prominent role in Ironbound struggles but sexism is often ignored instead of challenged. Workshops on sexism and the formation of wommin's groups could change that.

Helping groups with anti-corporate work seems like another important area for anarchists to be involved in. By doing this we can turn up the heat on specific corporations while putting forth an analysis about capitalism in general.

We should be willing to work directly with these groups as well as do our own thing. Doing our thing might be to simply network with other Anarchists to work on these local issues. Or we might work directly with the community in their search for alternatives to incineration, toxic waste sites, etc. The alternatives involve recycling, reuse, reduction at the source and decentralization. There is great potential here for change if there is real community control and involvement in the alternatives. In Newark the city runs recycling. But in other cities there are community recycling centers. Anarchists can help challenge centralized economic structures and make the push towards local autonomy.

We can also work to help sustain militancy in these struggles. Lack of militancy has not been the problem so much in Ironbound so much as sustaining it. The more militant actions have been one shot deals. Reacting to opening days, coming after all else has failed. Direct action is necessary on an ongoing basis but needs to be creative and inclusive. Direct action should not come at the expense of community organizing. We should insist on sustained direct action as a strategy for winning individual battles and for gaining direct control over our lives and neighborhoods.

I don't have all the answers, but I believe that groups like Ironbound's have much potential and that anarchism is largely relevant to these struggles. My neighbors are fed up with politicians. They've been politicized by their direct experiences with the system, with other grassroots groups and larger social issues. They perceive corporations as the enemy. And they've organized themselves. There are many situations similar to Ironbound. I hope that more anarchists will be involved in them and I hope that we can talk more to each other and share our experiences and begin to empower each other to be able to do the hard work that lies ahead.

For more info:

ICATW
95 Fleming Avenue
Newark, NJ 07105
(201) 589-4668

Regeneration
WD Press
P.O. Box 24115
St. Louis, MO 63130

Waste Not
82 Judson Street
Canton, NY 13617
(315) 379-9200

CCHW (home office)
PO Box 926
Arlington, Virginia 22216
(703) 276-7070

BURNED AGAIN

Anarchism, Incineration and Ironbound

BY GENE AGUILLERA

Fifty thousand Portuguese people and a wide range of ethnic groups coexist along with Chemical Waste Management, a garbage incinerator, various toxic waste sites and the remains of Diamond Shamrock's Agent Orange making plant, dioxin and all, to name just a few. The legal toxic emissions in the Ironbound zip code area are the highest in the state.

The Ironbound Committee Against Toxic Wastes (ICATW), of which I am a member, is struggling to reorganize the community after losing a 10 year fight to block the 2250 ton a day "waste to energy" facility, the state's largest. We are faced with proposals to build the "world's largest sewerage sludge incinerator" and a medical waste facility. Existing contaminated sites have yet to be cleaned up.

SELF-ORGANIZATION

Throughout the 80's the community fought to hold back this toxic tide and clean up identifiable toxic sites. Self-organization became a necessity for a community that was continually the target of polluters. After a warehouse full of toxics was discovered near the neighborhood, and the city released their "Dirty Dozen" list of the worst polluters in Newark, of which 10 of the 12 were in Ironbound, fed up residents formed the ICATW. The group and the working class, mostly Catholic, migrant community fought back, taking on the government and the corporations and using a variety of tactics.

For the Ironbound community, environmentalism was inseparable from quality of life. And, as another "sacrificial area" like those in other parts of the country where low income people, working class people and people of color are targeted by polluters, many residents understood the underlying causes of their problems.

The Ironbound Committee discovered, in the early 80's, that there were plans for incinerators in the neighborhood. SCA Corporation, now Chemical Waste Management, wanted to build a hazardous waste burner on Lister Avenue. There was another proposal for hazardous waste to be brought to and mixed at Port Newark and then transported through the Kill Van Kull waterway and out to sea to be incinerated.

"Environmentalism" in the sense of an abstract commitment to "saving the earth" wasn't the issue here. It was more like "What's this shit doing on my block, seeping into my garden; it can kill us." No guilt. Lots of anger.

These are the types of struggles that go on in the Ironbound. They're fought sometimes block by block. They're fought by regular people, who, through their experiences, have come to many of the same conclusions that we have.

Many Newark residents are intimately familiar with government corruption, bureaucracy and lies. This working class community understands why public hearings are held in the afternoon on workdays. They didn't hold their breath waiting for politicians to act or for state agencies to intervene or for mainstream environmental groups to support their cause. They acted themselves to deal with the problems confronting them.

Senior citizens sat in the street to block garbage trucks. A school teacher helped me hang a 60 ft long banner that read "LIARS" from the NJ Turnpike. Eight-hundred of the "disempowered" marched down Ferry Street, our main street. Mysteriously, large painted signs appeared in the middle of the night that were quickly erased by the city.

The ICATW began to work together with similar grassroots organizations that were springing up in other parts of the country. They were not only fighting on the same issues, but sometimes fighting the same companies. These groups in turn helped to bring the issues of environmental racism and class to the mainstream environmental movement, capturing the attention of groups like Greenpeace. The Ironbound Committee succeeded in defeating both the SCA and the at-sea hazardous waste burners while continuing to fight Essex County's garbage incinerator in Newark.

As expected, the fears about the incinerator were confirmed.

Residents were lied to when they pointed out that the incinerator was oversized, being assured Newark would not be a dumping ground for everyone else's waste. They were lied to when they were told this incinerator wouldn't pollute. Newark's incinerator, on line a little over a year, has had mercury and sulphur dioxide emissions above permit levels for which American Ref-Fuel has been fined \$462,000. The Newark Star Ledger admitted that, "Wallboard and ceiling tiles contain high levels of sulphur, releasing sulphur dioxide when burned. Batteries contain significant levels of mercury that cause additional emissions problems when burned," showing how even the newer "state of the art" incinerators are a failure.

When the state decided waste management had become a "crisis," New Jersey mandated that its counties each deal with their waste flow on their own. With incinerators proposed for every county in the state, groups sprang up to oppose them, and the subtle politics of environmental racism began to play themselves out. Communities were pitted against each other in their struggles to keep incinerators out — with poorer communities less able to influence the process. These communities are accused of being "NIMBY" (Not In My Back Yard) when they fight back, implying that they are short-sightedly pushing the waste problem out of their own yard into someone else's. But it is the whole setup of proposing incinerators in every county that insures that the sights of least resistance will be forced to accept such waste disposal methods.

BEYOND ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

While grassroots anti-toxics groups sprung up around the country, mainstream groups like the NJ Environmental Federation still thought incineration might be necessary. This was also the case in New York City, where, when first proposed in the mid-80's, the Brooklyn incinerator was supported by the Natural Resources Defense Council, the Environmental Defense Fund and the Environmental Action Coalition.

The ICATW formed alliances with groups like the Citizens Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste (CCHW) (See Bazooka Joe's article) and helpful form the Grassroots Environmental Organization (GREGO). CCHW keeps files on corporations, has travelling organizers and regional offices and has aided many groups by sharing information and experience and encourages local groups to do likewise.

CCHW and GREGO have played a role in linking local groups and in helping to transform separate battles into more unified strategies, moving from NIMBY to NIABY — Not In Anybody's Back Yard. CCHW has worked with 7,500 groups across the country. They recognize the racist and anti-poor strategies of the polluters and realize the importance of supporting local self organization and networking in response.

But groups like CCHW also advocate electoral strategies and "leadership training," while not necessarily challenging hierarchical groups structures in a strong enough way. They are less invested in the power structure than

some of the more mainstream groups, but, I think there is often a mistaken perception on their part that people in targeted areas need to be "educated": Taught how to be leaders. Taught how to better work within the system to beat an incinerator.

Local groups are constantly faced with the same dilemma of wanting immediate concrete results at the expense of accepting the system which causes the problems in the first place. Mayor Sharpe James, for example, has opposed the sludge incinerator but supports the garbage incinerator. Should ICATW work with him? One incinerator seems better than two. Or three or four...

Don't get me wrong I'm not saying these kinds of compromises with the status quo are the ideal approach, especially for anarchists. But this is the reality many targeted communities face. I don't want that new incinerator but I can't support anything the mayor does. But I'd be seen as nothing more than a wing-nut if I just said "Just don't do it, I really oppose our group holding a press conference with the mayor," when in

These community organizations are not revolutionary. But revolution is impossible without local self-organization.

AS WE NEAR THE END OF THE 20TH CENTURY, the ecological nightmare wrought by advanced industrial society has become too great to ignore, even by those who normally gorge themselves on huge doses of denial. It is a great source of anxiety for most people, so much so that environmental concerns have to at least be given lip service by politicians and the mainstream media. They both capitalize on this anxiety, as does a burgeoning market of eco-commodities and corporate-type environmental protection groups. However, because the ecological crisis is real and not a Madison Avenue advertising ploy, it will continue to worsen by the day and may soon threaten the very viability of life on the planet.

Beyond the mainstream co-optation of ecology, there is another type of movement, that of actual grassroots, popular action to protect both human life and the environment. From housewives mobilized around disasters such as Love Canal, to African-Americans in the southeast US fighting to rid their communities of such things as petro-chemical waste contamination, from Native struggles like that against the James Bay II project (see *Love and Rage* Vol. 2 Nos. 2 and 8), to labor demands for a healthy and safe work environment, there are coalitions organizing from below to resist encroaching disasters. While most of these movements are by no means explicitly revolutionary, they are made up of people who have self-organized around their own needs and have thereby begun to gain a sense of their own power and abilities.

Social revolutionaries and ecologists have not always related easily. Marx's understanding of nature was of an unyielding realm that had to be manipulated and exploited in order for humans to meet their basic necessities. Accordingly, he thought the domination of nature was needed in order to attain human freedom. The late 19th and early 20th centuries also saw the rise of pro-ecological sympathies among reactionary movements, such as the British Union of Fascists, the Rumanian Green Shirts, and in the "blood and soil" mythology of the Third Reich. Many of these movements fed off the alienation felt by a peasantry displaced from the land and thrust into the chaos of the newly industrialized societies that followed the bourgeois revolutions. These are some reasons that the Left has tended to be anti-ecological in its outlook.

The point is, we must get beyond the anti-ecological ideology common in the Left, and at the same time fight for liberatory social politics in the ecology movement. It is crucial that anarchists get involved in the struggle for an ecological society. To do so, we should be aware of the radical potential as well as some of the shortcomings of various tendencies in the ecology movement today.

THE GREENS

The Greens represent the largest movement world-wide to attempt to address social and ecological questions in a coherent way. The Greens, which in the US began as the Committees of Correspondence in 1984, was originally modelled on the delegate structure of the Spanish anarchist union, the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI). Since then it has evolved into a combined movement and party structure called The Greens/Green Party USA. Over the years there has been a lot of debate between liberal reformers, social radicals, and others such as bioregionalists in the organization.

The ability of the Greens to survive often harsh ideological and strategic disagreements within its ranks has allowed it to continue to grow while maintaining radical principles, including a commitment to participatory democracy and an economics platform that is implicitly anti-capitalist. There are now roughly 200 local groups with 3000 to 5000 members. At the same time, there are problems with the membership of the Greens. Much of the membership of the Greens is made up of white, often middle-class people with little experience in movement building. However, the organization continues to move leftward, and people from various marginalized and oppressed groups have begun to play a very central role.

This year's Green Action Plan includes two promising projects: Detroit Summer, and "solar power through community power." The first will have young volunteers from around the country come to help Detroiters in restoring and reclaiming neighborhoods through building urban gardens, rebuilding homes, and helping to start cooperative businesses, among other things. The second project involves challenging Bush's National Energy Strategy and pushing for grassroots ecological energy alternatives by having teach-ins and other activities leading up to major direct actions around Earth Day.

Although these projects have potential, there are some problems with the program of the Green Party. There is an opportunist tendency among some Greens, one that usually manifests itself in party interests. In the California Greens, for instance, the push for ballot status and the decision to take part in statewide electoral politics came at the expense of nearly half the local groups, who dropped out because of what they saw as severe anti-democratic tendencies by those who sought to ram their pro-party agenda through. For more information on the Greens, write the Green Clearinghouse at PO Box 30208, Kansas City, MO 64112, or their quarterly publication *Green Letter/Greener Times* at PO Box 14141, San Francisco, CA, 94114.

SOCIAL ECOLOGY

From their beginning, the Greens in the US have been influenced by anarchism, specifically by social ecology. Articulated first by social theorist and activist Murray Bookchin, social ecology explains the ecology crisis as a reflection of a crisis in society; or that the human attempt to dominate nature emerged out of the domination of human by human. From the perspective of social ecology, any attempt by humans to reharmonize ourselves with nature will mean confronting all forms of social hierarchy and domination such as patriarchy, racism, and homophobia, while building an ecological movement that can finally confront the power of modern capitalism and the State. Social ecology has played an important role in both the Left Green Network and the Youth Greens (addresses below). For more information on social ecology, contact the Institute for Social Ecology (PO Box 89, Plainfield, VT 05667); also see the publication *Green Perspectives* (PO Box 111, Burlington, VT 05402).

LEFT GREENS

The Left Greens, a network of anarchists and independent socialists who share a commitment to ecology, anti-capitalism, and grassroots participatory politics, have played an active role both inside and outside the Green movement. Perspectives in the Left Greens run from a social ecology orientation and a strategy of libertarian municipalism to a more labor oriented emphasis on workplace democracy and labor/environmental alliances of a more direct-action orientation. The Left Greens put out two publications, the bi-monthly *Left Green Notes* (825 E. Roosevelt, #178, Lombard, IL 60148) and a quarterly discussion journal *Regeneration* (WD Press, PO Box 24115, St Louis, MO 63130). The next issue will be on feminism.

Beyond the social democratic Green Party in Canada, there are two distinct Left Green formations. In eastern Canada, mainly Toronto, Ottawa and Montréal, the Confederation of Municipalist Greens, as they are called, are mostly influenced by social ecology and do not use the term "left," as there it connotes centralized, institutional Left politics. The Left Greens in western Canada, based in British Columbia, are a combination of anarchists, socialists, and ex-Communist Party members. Some Left Greens in B.C. are presently involved in a solid coalition of Native people, loggers and environmentalists. For a copy of the Left Greens' Principles or other materials, contact The Left Green Network (PO Box 366, Iowa City, IA 52244).

EARTH FIRST!

Outside of the organized Green movement there are a number of other groups and perspectives that seek fundamental ecological change. Probably the most well known radical ecology group in Earth First! (EF!), characterized by daring and creative sabotage and civil disobedience (mostly around wilderness protection) as well as a commitment to decentralization, has also been charged over the years with misanthropy, or a hatred of all humanity, and racism. These charges stem primarily from statements made by publishers of the *Earth First! Journal* and the so-called grandfather of EF!, Edward Abbey. These statements, as well as others that could arguably be called homophobic and nationalistic are already too well documented to go into here. EF! has gone through changes in the last couple of years partly because of a distancing of many in the movement from the misanthropy. EF! has also suffered severe repression in two instances from a State that clearly sees the movement as a threat; the first harsh FBI bust of five EF! activists in Prescott, Arizona, the second the brutal bombing of a car driven by EF!ers and IWW organizers Judi Bari and Daryl Cherney. The *Earth First! Journal* is now put out by a new group in

However, beyond an adherence to deep ecology, most EF!ers I know are committed at some level to anti-authoritarian social values as well. It is difficult to generalize because EF! has articulated no coherent set of politics, and it has no formal structure, which raises some of the problems of accountability that allowed a few people to discredit EF! by saying or printing idiotic things. This lack of cohesion that EF!ers celebrate also limits how far the movement can go in terms of developing a strategy to confront the power structure of industrial capitalism that is detests so much. The *Earth First! Journal* can be contacted at PO Box 5176, Missoula, MT 59806.

OTHER ECO-ANARCHIST PERSPECTIVES

Ecology is also a fundamental component of the politics of many anarchists in the last two decades. The quarterly journals *Anarchy* and *Fifth Estate* both offer strong critiques of the ecological crisis and of advanced industrial capitalism generally. *Fifth Estate* particularly has played an important role in the debates around deep ecology. However, writers in both papers make blanket condemnations of technology, and in the case of *Fifth Estate*, all of western civilization. What we seem to be offered instead is the notion of spontaneous revolt informed by a romantic primitivism to serve as a guide to a utopian future.

There is also a growing ecological sensibility in the anarchist punk scene, as can be witnessed through the simultaneous decrease in leather jackets and increase in Israeli-made canvas combat boots. While these lifestyle choices are ethically important, they have the danger of dissolving ecological politics into fashion and consumer choice. What's more, the concept "animal rights" is finally more a set of moral strictures than a practice that can help humanity create a liberatory relationship with nature. In fact, the very term "rights" is a human term. In any case, many vegan punks, such as the folks of the Anarchist Youth Federation, are doing a lot of good direct actions highlighting the horrors of animal cruelty, such as the McDonalds Day actions last fall. There are two new eco-punk groups that have gotten started in California: Bay Area Unbound, PO Box 423592, San Francisco, CA 94102, and Earth Unbound, UCSC, Oakes 527, 1156 High St., Santa Cruz, CA 95064.

THE YOUTH GREENS

Much to the dismay of many older activists, the Youth Greens started as an anti-capitalist, anti-statist Youth Caucus within the Greens. The group soon went on to become an autonomous organization guided by social ecological politics and a commitment to both theory and action. They began working with Left Greens, other anarchist tendencies such as *Love and Rage*, as well as initiating many local projects. In spring 1990 Youth Greens played a key role in organizing radicalize Earth Day action around the country, including the Wall Street action in NYC, the financial district action in San Francisco and others around the continent. At their last conference, in August of 1991, the Youth Greens decided to attempt to foster discussions among anarchists, radical ecologists, and others about the possibilities of bringing together the various anti-authoritarian tendencies within the ecology movement to build a distinct eco-anarchist or autonomous green confederation. This new formation could work within both the radical left and ecology movements to coordinate regional and continental actions, exchange ideas and plan long-term strategy to create a free ecological society from the bottom up.

The Youth Greens have been in touch with *Love and Rage* supporters, Left Greens, AYF groups, *Earth First!*ers, student environmentalists and others about the idea. They are now publishing a quarterly journal called *Free Society* to discuss different perspectives and report on eco-anarchist activities, and are planning

RADICAL ECOLOGY Gets To the Root

BY BAZOOKA JOE

Missoula, Montana. They too, however, have come under recent attack for an article they ran advocating the justifiability of killing hunters, which was submitted by an ex-CIA agent.

Many EF!ers call themselves "deep ecologists," referring to a philosophy first put forward by Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess. In its popular form, put forward by George Sessions and Bill Duval among others, deep ecology refers to an ecological ethics guided by the notion of bio-centrism, or the idea that every living entity has intrinsic rights. It also brings into a play a view of the universe that would have humanity intuitively know its place within nature. (Intuitively, instead of through thoughtful discussion or analysis.)

But deep ecologists run into problems when they attempt to suggest a strategy toward an ecological society. There is no theory of social domination within deep ecology, and so of course no understanding of patriarchy, capitalism, or the State. Without this, deep ecological laments about overpopulation or industrialism leave nothing to work with.

a founding conference probably for August 1992. For more information about the Youth Greens or *Free Society* contact the Youth Green Clearinghouse at PO Box 7293, Minneapolis, MN 55407.

Love and Rage has covered many aspects of the ecological movements. For more information about some of these subjects, you may want to take a look at:

Radicalize Earth Day - Vol. 1 Nos. 1 and 3
Judi Bari, Daryl Cherney - Vol. 1 No. 4
Earth First! - Vol. 1 Nos. 4 and 5; Vol. 2 No. 8
Left Greens - Vol. 1 No. 5; Vol. 2 Nos. 6 and 8
Youth Greens - Vol. 1 No. 6; Vol. 2 No. 8
Student Ecology - Vol. 1 No. 7; Vol. 2 No. 9
James Bay - Vol. 2 Nos. 2 and 8
Ecological Theory - Vol. 2 Nos. 5, 7, and 10

(From the pamphlet *Anarchism and the Black Revolution*, written in the mid-1970s by Lorenzo Kombo Erwin, one of the Marion brothers — prisoners at the infamous Behavior Modification Unit at Marion, Illinois prison. The essay lays out a complex and specific program for making the Black anarchist revolution. While there are many things to criticize — such as the absence of women and youth from his analysis, or his possibly too-optimistic view of community elections — Erwin foresaw many of the developments in US and world politics, and his analysis of building a multi-racial movement is still insightful and useful. In particular, his exploration of the different needs of different communities raises difficult questions for anarchists. This selection is taken from various parts of the 50 page pamphlet. If you want the whole pamphlet, please send us \$4 to cover photocopying and postage.)

SOURCES OF INSPIRATION

ANARCHISM AND THE BLACK REVOLUTION

A Word to Anarchists About Racism and Why We Must Oppose It

The working class is multi-national, and white racism is the major divider and obstacle to a united working class. Further, the Anarchist movement especially, (and the White radical movement generally) has not effectively dealt with the issue, in some instances, not at all. This must change. There can be no successful working class revolution without Black and non-White working people taking equal part.

Race and Class: The Combined Character of the Social Revolution

Blacks and other non-White peoples are oppressed both as members of the working class and as a racial nationality. They are a distinct people, hounded and segregated in American society. By struggling for their human and Civil Rights, they come into confrontation with the entire Capitalist system. At this juncture the movement can go into the direction of revolution and social change, or winning reforms and democratic rights within the structure of Capitalism. The potential is there for either. If it does become a revolutionary movement capable of overthrowing Capitalist rule, it must link up with the radical working class movement.

But, because of this dual form of oppression and the depth of social desperation that it creates, it is necessary for oppressed peoples to build independent movements to unite their own peoples first. This self-activity of the oppressed masses, (such as the Black Liberation Movement), is inherently revolutionary, and is an essential part of the social revolutionary process of the entire working class. It cannot be down-graded or ignored by White workers if a revolutionary victory is to be had. It has to be recognized as a cardinal principle by all, that oppressed peoples have a right to self-determination, including the right to run their own organizations.

Smash the Right-Wing!

The Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan are among the few Right-Wing political forces that pose, or appear to pose, a radical answer to the problems of society. That these solutions are false will matter little to confused and hysterical people searching desperately for a way out of the crisis.

Basing themselves on such social forces, the Nazis and Klan are trying to build a mass movement which can hire itself out to the Capitalists at the proper moment and assume State power.

A first step in organizing and preparing the working class for the coming crisis must be directly taking on this Right-Wing threat. The Left and Labor organizations must organize to defend workers and oppressed people from physical assaults by the Klan, Nazis, and other racists (such as the bombings of Black civil rights activists' homes, and anti-abortion fanatics who have firebombed and attacked abortion clinics). It is part of the same battleground.

But in addition to defensive operations, we must take offensive action where and when this is possible. For example, where the balance of forces allows it, we must organize to drive the Nazis and Klan off the

streets. We must organize commando-type actions to attack their rallies, close their bookshops and newspapers, and break up their marches. Since the Nazis and Klan organize by threatening and using violence, we must be prepared to reply to them in kind, but in an organized and effective way. Thus, we can smash the Right and begin to smash the State.

"The second prong of our strategy is to organize among the workers and other oppressed sections of society with a program that addresses their needs. As has been said, the Nazis and Klan recruit among certain social layers — overwhelmingly White — who are being hard-pressed by the developing crisis. These people see Blacks, Latinos, Women, Asians, Gays, and the Left as a whole, as a threat. They are racist and reactionary. Fearful that they might lose the little they have, they buy the myth that the problem is "those people" trying to steal their jobs, homes, etc, rather than the decay of the Capitalist system.

As long as there appears to be no alternative to fighting over a shrinking social "pie," the Nazis and the Klan will get a hearing among the degenerate elements of the working class.

The only way to undercut the appeal of the Right is to organize a Libertarian workers movement that can fight for and win the things that people need: for example, jobs, decent housing and schools, health care, etc. This can demonstrate concretely that there is an alternative to the Right-Wing "solution."

In all areas of our organizing, we must carry out consistent revolutionary propaganda explaining that Capitalism is responsible for unemployment, rising prices, rotten schools and housing, and the rest of the decay that we see around us. And we must expose the fact that while the Nazis, Klan and other Right-Wingers make Blacks, Jews, Gays and other oppressed peoples the scapegoat for the economic crisis, their real aim is to destroy the entire Workers' movement, and they then intend to commit genocide, start world war, and turn them into slaves of the State. Therefore, they are a threat to all workers — Black, Asian, Latino, and White.

Where is the Black Struggle Today? And Where Should it be Going?

The central demand is for Black control of the Black community, its politics and economy. We have to take control over the cities, establish municipal communes, and exercise self-government, as a vital first step. We are the majority in many of the major cities of the US and we should be able to control our own affairs, but as we should now be aware we won't ever get this power through voting for some Black capitalist politician, or from passively depending for "salvation" on leaders of one sort or another. We have to do it ourselves if we are to ever get on the road to freedom.

Cooperatives can help many Black communities to lessen the parasitic grip of the White Capitalist blood-suckers and acquire a larger measure of autonomy over some aspects of their economic life. But this is quite different from expecting that the present owners and controllers of the US economy will satisfy the needs of the Black community or that "Black Capitalist" schemes will solve or even alleviate the most pressing problems of Black people, such as housing, unemployment, poverty, and education. A fundamental transformation of the whole economic, political, and social system is required for this, but before that can happen Blacks must establish communes and cooperatives, and thus effectively take control, of the places where they live and work.

We should establish *community councils* to make policy decisions and administer the affairs of the Black community. These councils would be democratic neighborhood assemblies composed of representatives elected by Black workers in various community institutions — factories, hospitals, schools — as well as delegates elected on a block basis.

The local councils should be federated, or joined together, on regional, state, and national levels, the aim being to create a National Federation of Black Communes which would be composed of elected, not appointed, delegates representing their local constituencies. Such a National Federation of Community Councils could work out common policies and speak with one voice on all matters affecting their communities as a whole and their relations with all other forces and agencies. It would thus have far more strength than any single community ever could.

The Black community councils are really Black United Fronts, made up of all the social formations of our people, the block and neighborhood committees, the church, Labor, student and youth groups, and the Social Activist groups, to unite their various protest actions around a common program or struggle for this period. These united fronts will provide to the mass spontaneous action a form of organization whose social base is of the Black working class and community grassroots (rather than the usual Black middle-class leadership), and will serve as a catalyst to militant struggle.

The anarchists recognize these community councils as being a form of *direct democracy*, and as being especially important because they provide embryonic self-rule and a beginning of an alternative to the capitalist government. It is a way to undermine the government and make it an irrelevant dinosaur; it is a vital first step toward full economic and political independence for Black people and Social Revolution in America.

We must therefore have community control of *all* the institutions of the Black community. Only the residents of a community have a true understanding of its needs and desires. As long as White society continues to dominate the institutions of the Black community, racial tensions will continue to exist. No people is truly free until it can determine its own destiny. ONWARD TO THE BLACK REVOLUTION! BUILD THE BLACK COMMUNE! ★

Love and Rage Political Statement

Love and Rage is a monthly anarchist newspaper intended to foster revolutionary anti-authoritarian activism in North America and build a more effective and better organized anarchist movement. We will provide coverage of social struggles, world events, anarchist actions and cultures of resistance. We will support the struggles of oppressed peoples around the world for control over their own lives. Anarchy offers the broadest possible critique of domination, making possible a framework for unity in all struggles for liberation. We seek to understand the systems we live under for ourselves and reject any pre-packaged ideology. Anarchism is a living body of theory and practice connected directly to the lived experiences of oppressed people fighting for their own liberation. We anticipate the radical and on-going revision of our ideas as a necessary part of any revolutionary process.

Love and Rage is revolutionary.

We support the overthrow of all forms of authoritarian social relations and the creation of a society based on cooperation, solidarity and mutual aid. We recognize that social revolution can only be made by the oppressed majority of humanity in a movement that they control themselves. We support the use of whatever means are necessary to emancipate humanity and bring an end to the war, poverty, hunger and misery generated by the existing system. We support the use of diverse tactics in working toward a social revolution.

Love and Rage is anti-statist.

We oppose all states (governments) regardless of ideology. The purpose of the state is to maintain and regulate all forms of domination. The state has a monopoly on organized, legal violence: the police, military, and the prison system enforce the authoritarian organization of society. We oppose the immigration system and attempts to control the free movement of people across state borders. We believe that people can organize their own lives and communities. This self-organization can take care of any useful functions for which people now rely on the state.

Love and Rage is anti-capitalist.

We support all resistance to capitalist domination — resistance such as strikes, workplace struggles, squatting, rent strikes, and struggles for community control of resources. We desire the total transformation of production and consumption in a life-affirming, cooperative economy. It should be decentralized, equitable, fluid and experimental and controlled by those who participate in it.

Love and Rage is anti-racist.

We support the self-determination of all communities of color. We fight against white supremacy and work for the creation of societies that respect cultural diversity. We recognize the specific oppression of African-Americans from the time of slavery to the present. We fight for the liberation and self-determination of Black people in the US. We acknowledge that the basis for the current racist society was laid by means

of genocide and forced assimilation of indigenous people. We support the preservation of cultural traditions and land rights for Native Americans. We support self-determination for Puerto Rico and an end to the oppression of Puerto Ricans outside of Puerto Rico. We oppose the oppression of Chicanos. We oppose anti-Jewish racism. We fight to expose cultural imperialism. We support self-determination for Québec and an end to the oppression of francophones in North America. We organize against racist skinhead, Klan, Nazi, and cop terror. We recognize and oppose the racism inherent in the economic, political, and military domination and exploitation of the so-called "third world." We are striving to create a society where people of all colors and ethnic backgrounds can feel safe, respected, and un-threatened by racism.

Love and Rage is anti-imperialist.

The society we fight for will celebrate the beauty of human diversity, honor the earth, and recognize the cultural and social contributions to the human community made by the planet's majority, people of color.

To create this society, humanity must overturn an existing one imposed on the planet by a minority through force — one that has enslaved the planet's majority for the enrichment of a few. This refers to all forms of state imperialism, not just domination by Western finance capital. *Love and Rage* supports the struggles of oppressed and exploited peoples for self-determination and freedom from domestic and foreign domination. We critically support the struggles

of less powerful countries against imperialist bullying and control. This means dismantling all existing structures including the US federal state and the Soviet Union.

Love and Rage is anti-sexist.

We reject the patriarchy and fight for the empowerment, liberation and self-determination of all wimmin. This includes unquestionable reproductive freedom and accessible wimmin-centered health care for all wimmin (And all means all!) We recognize that sexual violence and objectification of wimmin are necessary to the continued functioning of the state. The state will not solve our problems. We recognize the responsibility of men to organize to change themselves and end patriarchy. We celebrate wimmin's strength and rejoice in our diversity and individuality.

Love and Rage supports Queer Liberation.

We reject the compulsory heterosexuality of the patriarchal family and traditional sex roles and support attempts to foster a diversity of consensual human relationships and sexuality. This includes the liberation of bisexual, gay, lesbian and transgender people.

Love and Rage is anti-ageist.

The manifestations of ageism take many forms, from the oppression of youth to the problems of older people, all of whom are marginalized and alienated from this society. Our ideas for liberation are always developing and cannot be presented in a paragraph, but must be discussed in the paper as a

whole and throughout our entire lives. This issue cannot be simplistically addressed, and will be dealt with in relevant articles on the AYF (Anarchist Youth Federation) Page and elsewhere.

Love and Rage is eco-anarchist.

All forms of life are intertwined. We reject the myth that people exist outside the natural world. Instead, we see human life as an integral part of nature.

At the same time, we see all forms of social domination as thoroughly interconnected with ecological destruction. We know that if we want to stop the destruction of the planet we must also end all forms of domination that corrode social life.

Merely changing individual lifestyles or "greening" capitalism will not save the planet. Instead we must understand that it is corporate and state capitalism together with forms of domination such as patriarchy and racism that are responsible for the current ecological crisis. An anarchist society must be ecological and an ecological society must be anarchistic.

This statement does not attempt to include all the issues of concern to anarchists and anti-authoritarians nor does *Love and Rage* pretend to fully understand, or be fully united on, all issues. We do not purport to represent the full spectrum of diversity in the contemporary anarchist movement. We will not shy away from controversy. We will always seek the input of our readers and other activists in our efforts to advance both our own understanding and that of the movements we serve.

Anarchist Youth Federation

Anarchism and Our Earth: a Young Person's Perspective

BY JOHN A.

THE CONCEPT THAT THE STATE protects society from looting and plundering is false. The state, in both capitalist and communist countries, is the systemized looting and plundering of the populace by those in power. The police exist to protect the state and to prevent those not in power from threatening the looting and plundering of the state. What Anarchism offers is not some form of new government, which would merely replace one system of looting and plundering with another, but rather an end to looting and plundering altogether. Anarchism is the creation of forms of organization which do not involve hierarchy or coercion.

In a country with a capitalist republican government, such as the US, the rich elite has all the political power. The state works for their benefit. It is the wealthy few who play a role in politics. Owners of corporations make campaign contributions. They influence politi-



cians to get the state to ensure that the arms race continues. The foreign policies of intervention are controlled by big business as well. The pharmaceutical industry, the oil companies, the paper industry, etc. use the state in any way they can to attain their goals of economic expansion. Essentially, the political power is owned by those with the economic power.

Under Marxian regimes, you have a state that does not only hold all political power, but it also holds all economic power. Inevitably you are left with a ruling elite that is both rich and in power. Both capitalist states and communist states are based on greed and violence.

If we are going to halt this path of greed and authoritarianism, which leads directly to a continuance of the arms race, corporate pollution, and the destruction of Earth which we are now witnessing, we must abandon the cancer of statism. We must recast society in a mold of local organizations, in which no centralized authority would wield power over those who disagree with it. Unity in such a society could

be created through a federated but non-hierarchical series of alliances between communities. Co-operation would form between such communities out of necessity, such as the needs for food, energy, and shelter.

Rather than being a utopian dream, this is the most efficient way to organize society. If a centralized state makes a wrong decision, it makes that decision for millions of uninvolved persons. If a local body makes a wrong decision, it affects only the people who made the decision. Decentralization down to the local level allows those closest to a problem, those who know the finest details of a given situation, which the bureaucracy would surely overlook, to solve it. This is clearly more efficient than leaving the problem solving to some politician in some far away capital. In fact, the more complicated and personalized society becomes, with greater individuality and increasing technology, the more important and convenient it becomes to decentralize.

Indeed, the environmental movement, probably the most important social movement of our age, has as its motto the decentralist slogan "Small is Beautiful." In order for people to live bioregionally, that is, in tune with the ecosystem of their region, it is necessary for them to organize locally. This type of living lends itself easily to recycling and reusing. One of the most important moves that is going to have to occur, is the conversion to solar, water, and wind power. Clearly, these types of energies can only be harnessed according to landscapes. All this means Anarchism in action: people coming together for survival. This is mutual aid. This is not utopian, this is practicality. This is what is necessary for the human race and the Earth to survive. ★

What is AYF?

The Anarchist Youth Federation is an international network of autonomous anarchist youth groups dedicated to totally fucking up this system, until it dies a horrible death (and we all live happily ever after).

What is the AYF Page?

The AYF page is a new, monthly feature bringing a much needed youth perspective to Love and Rage. We are also funny and sexy. All correspondence for this page should be sent to:

NY-AYF PO Box 365 Canal St
Station, NYC 10013-0365

The AYF has tons of groups all over the universe. Due to the fact that we are making so much news at the moment, a complete listing could not be fit onto this page. For a listing of affiliate groups, and basic AYF info, send a stamp to the New York address.

Beast

(Continued from page 3)

tion, and healthcare. We are involved in building communities of opposition and in opposing the forces that break down community in our society in general.

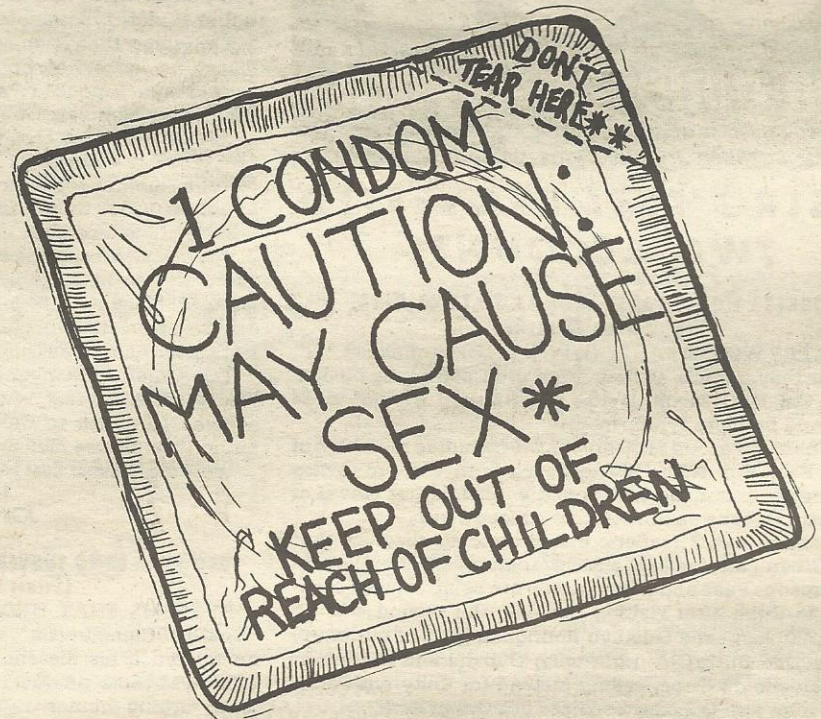
There is disagreement in the US anarchist movement over a wide variety of questions. There is argument about national liberation struggles, about organization structures, about work, about technology, about working in coalition with the left or not, about community organizing, about education, about the environment, about anti-capitalist violence, and, of course, about what Class War calls lifestyleism.

In this day of multinational capitalism, it is a gross simplification to suggest that internationalism consists of a single alliance between workers of all industrial nations. On the contrary, what is called for is a concerted attack on the states and corporations that oppress us at every point in the complex system of that oppression. We must use our international

connections to fight more effectively against international capitalism wherever it turns up by illuminating both its strategies and its practices and standing in the way of these at every level.

It is in this sense that anti-capitalist politics in the core of the empire, in the belly of the beast, must inherently differ from the same fight in the third world and internal colonies of the first. But to argue that these struggles differ is only to reemphasize that there is an international division of labor, there is a gross inequality in the distribution of resources, goods, and power worldwide, that the way capitalism presents itself in our lives differs enormously from country to country and class to class. It is neither divisive nor nationalistic to therefore assert that we must show our opposition to capitalism differently. Attacking the beast at home is the strongest solidarity we can give to each other's struggles. Understanding anti-capitalist movements worldwide is the best support we can get in fighting for our own liberation. ★

-This was written for a workshop and rally at the Class War conference in London in September, 1991.



* Other side effects - may prevent the spread of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases. May also prevent pregnancy.

** Unless under close supervision of the church, the state, your parents and society at large.

Religious Nuts Loose in Schools

BY FELIX VON HAVOC

BIBLE-THUMPING CONSERVATIVE extremists have long held an inordinately high amount of influence over education. From keeping evolution and so called "anti-Christian" literature (such as *Little Red Riding Hood*) out of text-books, to enforcing their conservative values on students, the religious right claims to defend "traditional American family values" in American schools. In reality those values, if they ever existed at all, no longer apply to modern American society. Two important issues have been the focus of the religious right which can have far reaching and deadly effects: teenage sexuality and condom distribution.

Various government and private health groups have long been pushing for more research into teenagers' sexual habits. In the age of AIDS, and with massive teen pregnancy rates, a re-examination of teenagers' sexual habits is absolutely necessary. There have been dramatic changes in social attitudes towards sex in the last several decades, yet those in charge of planning public health for teens have to work with unreliable data, much of it dating back to the 1950s. Conservative groups have been very active in blocking any funding for new research on the grounds that it will "encourage" promiscuity and licentious behavior by teenagers. These pundits refuse to recognize that teen hormones rarely require "encouragement," and that study is required to deal with sexually transmitted diseases and teen pregnancy. More likely than not they are afraid of the facts which would result from such research. Facts which would confirm what most of us have always known — that "everybody's doing it."

Another related issue is the distribution of condoms in high schools. With recent events such as Magic Johnson's announcement that he is HIV+, the potential for bringing the safe sex issue to one of the groups which heads it least, has never been greater. Johnson's popularity as an athlete and role model could serve to hammer home the safe sex issue to young people brainwashed into thinking that AIDS is an issue which doesn't affect them. The religious right, which refuses to admit that teenagers are fooling around, or permit studies which would prove it, opposes the idea of teens being able to have access to contraception. Once again they maintain that this would "encourage" sex among teenagers. Regardless of what these moral majority crusaders try to push on America's youth, millions of young people will continue to have sex. To deny them access to condoms is tantamount to sentencing some of them to death.

The religious right maintains that people should have sex only after marriage, and then only for the purposes of reproduction. They oppose access to contraception and abortion; they believe AIDS was sent by god to the earth to kill off the "impure," like some sort of Old Testament fable. This segment of American politics has a very dangerous social agenda which it is trying to advance: behind their anti-safe-sex and school prayer campaigns is a push towards an extreme right wing theocracy which would attempt to force Americans to conform to a right-wing religious vision of society. It's time that young people in schools everywhere took a stand against these crusading religious nuts and end their influence in America's schools. ★

Fantastic AYF Discussion Bulletin

The AYF Discussion Bulletin is available for \$1 plus 52 cents postage from:

NY-AYF PO Box 365
New York, NY 10013-0365



OGB

on gogol boulevard

CASTRO-FEST PROTESTED TWO ACCOUNTS

WORKERS WORLD PARTY: WORMS ON THEIR MIND!
BY "B" OF MCGLYNN

WORKERS WORLD PARTY (WWP), a violent stalinist cult, did what they do best at their large pro-Castro rally on Jan. 25th at the NYC Jacob Javits (convention) Center: stifle dissent and promote tyranny.

I was part of a group of 10 anarchists including members of Neither East Nor West. We leafleted both the pro-Castro crowd lining up outside Javits and a much larger crowd of anti-Castro Cubans demonstrating a block away.

We handed out 2 leaflets: one protesting the fact that Cuban Green Path (an anti-authoritarian green group) members Mercedes Paez and Orlando Polo are being refused readmission to Cuba after visiting the U.S.; the second was by Cuban anarchist exile Gustavo Rodriguez (part of our crew) that criticized Bush/CIA, right-wing Cubans and the left in their positions on Cuba, calling instead for unity with anti-authoritarian anti-U.S./Castro forces like Green Path.

As I started to leaflet, a group of anti-Castro Cubans approached the WWP rally and were repulsed by WWP goons. I crossed the street to leaflet the Cubans and then returned. That's all it took for WWP security to begin surveillance of me with a video camera and earn me the tag "gusano". ("Gusano" means worm in Spanish and is a solely leftoid pejorative for anti-Castro Cubans and their friends of whatever political stripe. No other group of exiles/emigres seems to be blessed with its own insulting label. "Gusano" can be seen as an objective or literal racist comment.)

Throughout the day we were peppered with the "Gusano" insult (yep, it's just us "worms" here!). This, while at the anti-Castro rally we got called "Communists"! A Cuban woman "worm" we befriended got the worst of it. She's a leftist who was handing out anti-Castro human rights leaflets. She was followed by WWP security and when she implored the mostly white ticket holder line not to support Castro because of Cuba's anti-gay policies, she got heavily "wormed". Later, a WWP wanna-be pig fingered me to the real pigs - claiming I'd been seen with "worms" and was "disruptive" (i.e. exercising free speech) - and the pigs forced me away from the Javits Center. I circled around back to Javits only to find WWP nerds running around looking for me, their favorite "worm"! The day ended with myself, Gustavo, and others being refused admission to the WWP revival meeting by a white racist WWP'er who couldn't stop repeating "worms! worms! worms!" until I shut him up with "Don't you think

it's racist for whites to be so liberally using an insult intended solely for Cubans?" (I can still see the blood draining from his face!)

Meanwhile, inside the rally, Cubans were *clubbed* by WWP for chanting and unfurling a banner. WWP claimed their rally was a victory for "free speech" (!) as Javits tried to cancel it for security reasons. I'd call it both a model of the dictatorship WWP has in store for us and a microcosm of the Castro dictatorship.

It's an old story that the U.S. "left" employs its own type of U.S. chauvinism, imperialism, racism, and "USA #1" in promoting anything that is on the "same side" of the U.S. "movement", no matter how oppressive it is - just as long as it helps "us". Many supposed "anarchists" are infected with this, especially regarding Cuba. At the rally an "anarchist" debated me, implying that we should support Castro because "He provides a haven for U.S. political prisoners". I rebutted: "So the Cuban people have to suffer under dictatorship just to help you?/ A Cuban friend summed up the mostly white U.S. "left": comfortable, elite, *bourgeois*, and racist.

The day was a success as we put ourselves on the map as an alternative to both leftoids and rightoids. A Cuba solidarity group is in formation, including U.S. and Cuban Americans. Our activity has already made NYC leftoid bastions such as radio station WBAI and the Guardian newspaper very nervous.

The Green Path members mentioned above need help. Please write protest letters for them demanding they be allowed to return to Cuba and we'll send them to Cuban authorities. Please mail to:

WORMS/Neither East Nor West, 528 5th St., Brooklyn N.Y.
11215, USA.
JOIN THE WORMS

PRO-CUBA DEMO SUBVERTED BY WORKERS WORLD PARTY!! (SECRET EYEWITNESS REPORT)

IT SEEMS THAT UNDER PRESSURE from the so-called "Death of Communism", the radical "left" is showing little or no tolerance for dissent. On Saturday, January 25th, two WBAI-FM radio producers attempting to hand out an open letter urging human rights reform in Cuba were forcibly ejected from the Peace for Cuba event at the Jacob Javits Center by security goons provided by the Stalin worshipping Workers World Party (WWP).

Ms. Avila, a WBAI poetry producer, had recently returned from a two week trip to the Latin American Film Festival in Havana, Cuba. Unlike most visitors from the U.S. left, Ms. Avila was born in Cuba, and was able to visit family in both Havana and a small town near Santiago De Cobe, in the south of the island. Coming from WBAI and having studied with the Antonio Maceo Brigade (a Marxist study and work group for Cubans in America), she expected to find an island and a people struggling but united in their resolve to survive shortages caused by the 30 year U.S. embargo and the recent withdrawal of aid from the former Soviet bloc.

Instead, what she found was a system held in place by political repression and government informers, repressing not just gays (the infamous "cocos", or homosexual detention camps), but also those who had attempted to work within the system to create a socialism where freedom of speech and criticism of bureaucratic mismanagement and elitism were not a crime.

She saw numerous cases of repression, and was told of many others that no tourist would ordinarily be privy to, including cases of poets, intellectuals, and writers imprisoned under "La Ley De Peligrosidad" (the Law Of Danger To The State); gays and lesbians expelled from universities, removed from their jobs, given electroshock, and evicted from their homes; even a Marxist scholar who was impris-

oned for writing a criticism of elitism in the upper echelons of the Communist Party.

Unfortunately, pointing out these abuses has never been popular. The usual reaction by the American left ranges from lame justifications ("Well the U.S. embargo creates an emergency situation, so gay detention camps are an understandable by-product of U.S. policy.") to outright denial of any problems or dissatisfaction whatsoever. What tourists in Cuba may not realize is that no Cuban will speak honestly with them for fear of being turned in by the tourists themselves. The Cuban people have learned that amerikans on holiday with their Marxist study groups may be likely to report them to the authorities, resulting in long jail terms for violating "La Ley De Peligrosidad". "Dissing the revolution" in any way has become a crime, to the extent that persons committed to socialism have been jailed for even suggesting the existence of corruption or mismanagement.

These Stalinist tendencies appear to have had an influence on the workings of american "left" groups, blinding them to criticism of both the police state in Cuba and the very similar tactics they use at home. Those here fighting against human rights violations in Cuba get insults from the left, rejection by the right, and racism from both sides, who can't believe that a nation of brown people might actually be able to run their own country without the "advice of elitists on both ends of the political spectrum.

Ms. Avila and a friend were thrown out of the Javits Center shortly after they managed to hand a copy of Ms. Avila's open letter to former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, an organizer of and speaker at the event. They had been standing with other media professionals in a press detention area, waiting to be officially escorted into the event when they spotted Clark as he entered. The "Peace for Cuba" staff member



WWP Thug attacks anarchist activist Lori Rizzo at an anti-war demo.

running the press area demanded to see a copy of the flyer, and after approximately 8 seconds, determined that an open appeal for human rights had no place at their rally. He immediately summoned over 2 large white men who physically dragged Ms. Avila to the door and then the street as she shouted out human rights slogans. When her friend attempted to follow the goons who were assaulting her, he was grabbed by 2 other large security types who forced him out another door. He began shouting "This is the same treatment gay activists get in Cuba! Close the HIV detention camps!", and the "Peace For Cuba" security grabbed him in a police-style arm lock in order to eject him as quickly as possible.

Once outside, the pair continued to hand out flyers to those waiting to enter the rally, enduring abuse and insults such as the racist "gusano" (worm) moniker used almost exclusively by white amerikans on the line, and responses of "so what?" when the issue of homosexual detention camps was raised. ★



Letter from Poland

OVER A MONTH AGO I got from you a leaflet about a solidarity anti-clerical action organized by NYC anarchists. [On Oct. 6th Neither East Nor West-NYC (NENW) and Autonomous Anarchist Action (AAA) picketed a mass by Poland's Cardinal Glemp and U.S. Cardinal O'Connor to protest repressive Catholic Church policies]

I suppose you're interested in anarchist activity in Poland. The greatest action organized by anarchists in the previous year was a blockade of the building of a dam in Czorsztyn in the Pieniny mountains. The completion of this building would prove to be an ecological disaster in that region and cause destruction of many relics. The blockade was organized in July and August. The authorities reacted by sending in massive police forces. Over 100 participants of the blockade were fined and most of these fines are convertible to jail time, so there's a danger that those who won't pay will go to prison.

Last summer the police came to make visits and searches at homes of people connected with the anarchist movement. Sometimes they try to threaten these people and induce them to collaboration. And since the time of the Czorsztyn blockade the police have started to attack anarchist demonstrations (the cops say that they do it because our demos aren't officially legalized). For example in October the cops attacked an anti-military demonstration in Warsaw (burning draft documents) and arrested for some hours participants of an anarchist picket during Margaret Thatcher's visit to Krakow.

Now it's after the "free elections" and the project of the anti-abortion bill is going to come back to Parliament again. We'll try to fight it, but unfortunately the Catholic morons have a majority in Parliament.

We, anarchists in Warsaw, are interested in cooperation with NENW, AAA and other NY anarchists. We're interested in getting information about your activity and your papers (like the Shadow). In return we can send news about our activity and our papers.

We're also willing to organize solidarity actions — demonstrating at the American embassy is very funny because of the panic reactions of the Polish authorities. I'm sending some photos made during a happening, which we organized in front of the American embassy at the time of the Gulf War. There you can see a tank, which stood then in front of the embassy to "defend it."

I send you also summer/fall '91 Green Brigades — it's an ecologists' paper, but there's also a report by Polish anarchist-feminists, my text ["The Day Before Yuppification"] from the 6th issue of Rewolta (Warsaw anarchist paper) and more information about the Czorsztyn action. I hope it would be useful for you. A Green Brigades sub is \$3 yr. for 4 issues from:

The Faculty of Chemistry, Jagiellonian University, Karasia 3/100,
30-060 Krakow, Poland]

Waiting for your answer, Piotr
Piotr Rymarczyk, Ul. Grzybowska 30/914, 00-863
Warsaw, Poland. Tel.: 24-12-68

Polish Exchange Project:

BROTHERS AND SISTERS!

Here is a list of the Polish press we distribute. Is it interesting for you? Of course, there would be some troubles with paying, but we are able to solve it! Instead of sending money we can swap stuffs. When you receive our publications, you can send for exchange zines, tapes, records, guitar strings, or anything we can sell here and have money for publications and postage for you. We can also distribute your zines, tapes, records, stickers etc.

WE OFFER:

Zines: QORYO, Antena Krzyku, Kulturka Press, Rdzen, Greencore, Kanaloza, Implozja, Atak, Kulturkombinat, Religia na sprzedaz, OK'urde, Reggae Front, Garaz, Linie and not only!

Anarchy - Political Zines: Fraternite, Anarcholl, Rewolta, Spartakus, Ciach and not only!

Ecology, Vegetarianism etc.: Zielone Brygady, Raporty Pracowni narzech Wszystkich Istot, Beek and not only!

Rafal Kasprzak, 11-go Listopada 17/40, 64-920 Pila, Poland
(Reprinted from Green Brigades summer/fall '91)

Russian Kropotkin Museum

RECENTLY, IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION/RUSSIA, there has been a renewed interest in Peter Kropotkin, the well-known anarchist revolutionary. Restoration of memorial museums to him (closed by Stalin) are currently underway. The museums are asking anarchists worldwide to send in "Editions of Kropotkin's works and literature about him of different years of publication, and anarchist periodicals, leaflets, and other publications of 1917-21 connected with Kropotkin's activity in the last period of his life. We are also interested

in modern periodicals of anarchist groups, documents, leaflets, and other materials. The museum is ready to buy the materials it is interested in or to exchange it on doubled ones we have." (Note from NYC-Neither East Nor West: please send stuff for free. The ruble has collapsed and dollars are rare. The situation there is desperate.) Please send to:

141 800 Dmitrov, Moscow Region, Istoricheskaya Ploschad 12,
Istorico-Hodozhestveniy Muzeum, Hohlov Romuald Fiodok-
ovich, Russia.
tel. (in Dmitrov) 567-32-04



What is OGB?

On Gogol Boulevard (OGB) is the bulletin of New York City Neither East Nor West, networking East and West alternative oppositions and printing news and documents unavailable in the corporate or "left" media. We are now also attempting to bring Third and Fourth World activists into these efforts.

This regular OGB section in Love and Rage will serve the same function. We encourage all those involved in "Neither East nor West" type activity to regularly contribute to this section. Please address letters, reports, documents, debate, etc. directly to OGB. This is not a section for anarchists only. We are interested in all things promoting freedom, such as worker's, women's, minority, and gay rights, environmental and anti-militarist issues, and anything pursuing paths other than the capitalist and state bureaucratic models.

By the way, Gogol Boulevard is a noted hang-out for Moscow's counter-culture — see you there!

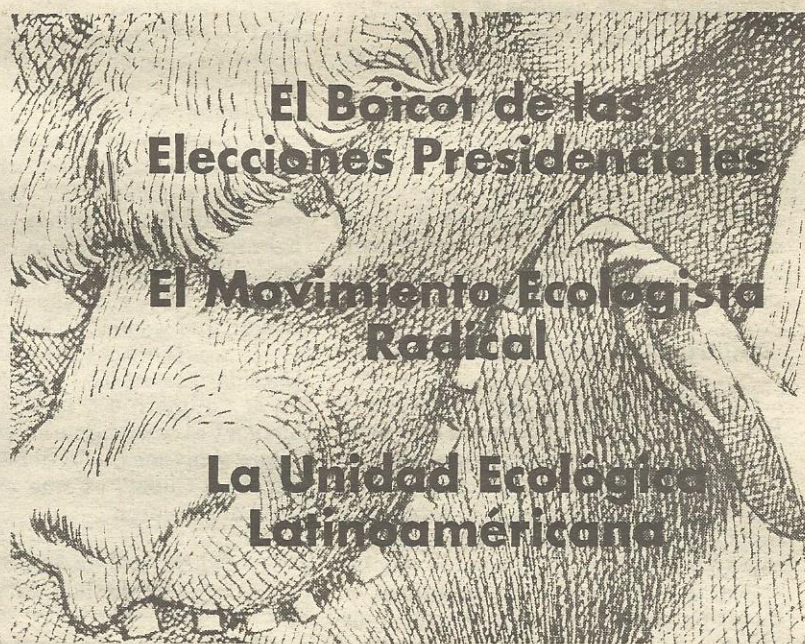
On Gogol Boulevard \Neither East Nor West
528 Fifth Street
Brooklyn, NY 11215
(718) 499-7720

AÑO 3 NUMERO 3

MARZO DE 1992 \$1

AMOR Y RABIA

UNA PUBLICACION MENSUAL
ANARQUISTA REVOLUCIONARIA



POR MATT BLACK.

"Cuando sonríen y me piden apoyo, les dare estas palabras y una nariz sangrante: "tú no ayudas a tu enemigo cuando estas en guerra"

- Chumbawamba.

EL AÑO 1992 ES UN AÑO MUY especial. Nos invitan a celebrar el "descubrimiento" del "Nuevo Mundo" por Colón. Europa se unirá formalmente por un capitalismo mejor y más poderoso. Y aquí, en los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica nos piden elegir al futuro presidente del "mundo libre."

DISCULPENOS, ESTAREMOS OCUPADOS ESE DIA.

No estaremos en las urnas electorales. Nosotros — tú, yo y todos los que estamos luchando por descarrilar el sistema — no trabajaremos en los cuarteles de las campañas electorales. No estaremos registrando votantes ni encuestando a nuestros amigos. Estaremos en las calles, en nuestros centros de trabajo, en nuestras aulas — con nuestros amigos/as, nuestras familias y nuestras compañeras/os. Estaremos boicoteando las elecciones presidenciales y no seremos los únicos.

LAS ELECCIONES SON IMPORTANTES.

No es fácil realizar un boicot electoral. Los grupos oprimidos han luchado duro

Es importante que el pueblo vote en las elecciones o que se les pueda culpar de no hacerlo. Dentro de este contexto, el mito del poder electoral continua y el sistema en sí nunca es cuestionado.

Finalmente, la elección presidencial no es otra cosa que un espectáculo. Es un ejemplo más de las muchas formas en que somos espectadores en vez de actores, de como no hacemos nuestra propia historia, sino que solo la contemplamos a través de la televisión.

El cuento de este espectáculo en particular, mantiene viva la leyenda de que la democracia liberal es el "mejor sistema que existe," que Norteamérica es la "número 1," que la supremacía blanca y el sexismo no son un problema. Y que si no nos gusta debemos de "mudarnos a Cuba," ya que en Rusia tampoco nos quieren.

ORGANIZEMONOS PARA EL RESTO DE NUESTRAS VIDAS

¿Donde reside el poder político en esta sociedad? ¿En las urnas electorales? ¿En las organizaciones populares? ¿En las Universidades? ¿En las fábricas? ¿Cómo logrará el pueblo el poder que no tiene? ¿Cómo empezará la lucha por un cambio social verdadero en vez de solo tratar de no perder lo poco que hemos conseguido? ¿Y cómo podremos man-

BOICOTIEMOS LAS ELECCIONES PRESIDENCIALES DE 1992

para los terratenientes varones blancos. La constitución perpetúa la continua opresión a los africanos y el establecimiento de un imperio basado en su trabajo. Pese a la retórica "radical" de la constitución, ésta fue escrita para establecer un sistema que dista mucho de ser radical o libertario o que responda a la mayoría del pueblo. Quieren que nos identifiquemos con los "Padres Fundadores" blancos y con los presidentes blancos pero obviamente no son de los nuestros ni estan del mismo lado en la lucha por la libertad verdadera.

LA SOLUCION DEL TERCER PARTIDO

Durante todo el año veremos surgir a uno o más "terceros" partidos y a varios candidatos presidenciales "independientes." Varios grupos han comenzado a encarar la formación de un nuevo partido sin lograrlo aún. La "Comission for Responsive Democracy" (una comisión auspiciada por la Organización Nacional de la Mujer — NOW), decidió (mediante una votación en su reunión del 15 de septiembre) hacer un llamado a NOW para que inicie un partido "dedicado a la igualdad, la justicia social y económica, la desmilitarización y un medio ambiente sano," es probable que NOW comience a tomar pasos hacia la formación de este partido y presente candidatos, incluso para presidente.

Simultaneamente, un sector de la burocracia sindical esta considerando formar un nuevo partido, debido en parte a los esfuerzos de Tony Mazzocchi del Sindicato de Trabajadores Petroleros, Atómicos y Químicos.

Por su parte Ron Daniels, ex-director ejecutivo de la Coalición Arcoiris (Rainbow Coalition), a propuesto formar una lista de candidatos progresistas para presentarse juntos en las próximas elecciones.

Estos parecen ser las figuras principales dentro de la formación de un tercer partido. Pero es importante mantener esto dentro de su contexto; en todo período electoral circulan rumores sobre la formación de un tercer partido. Resulta difícil creer que la mayoría de los afiliados de NOW o de los sindicatos puedan romper de hoy a mañana con el partido demócrata.

El candidato del tercer partido más popular del siglo XX fué George Wallace, con una plataforma populista basada en la superioridad blanca.

Parece poco probable que la izquierda pueda presentar candidatos presidenciales en las elecciones de este año, con la excepción de Daniels que ya ha decidido postularse sin esperanzas de éxito.

Existe también la posibilidad de que estos tres grupos se unan y se conviertan en facciones de un mismo bloque y es probable que al final del verano la

"izquierda progresista" apoye al bloque que finalmente emerja.

Mientras que la posibilidad de que haya un candidato serio de un tercer partido en la eleccion de 1992 parece difícil, es importante que tomemos en serio la aparición de estos nuevos partidos. Es necesario plantear nuestra oposición frente a las soluciones de terceros partidos con frecuencia y claridad.

LA MAYORIA NO VOTANTE

La mayoría "no votante" esta alienada de la política electoral. Nuestra falta de poder dentro del sistema electoral es evidente. Aún si votáramos, no estaríamos representados y el poder real ni siquiera reside en el sistema representativo. La mayoría de la gente dice que los "no votantes" somos cínicos y que estamos alienados de la sociedad, muchos sencillamente dicen que somos estúpidos.

Ambas evaluaciones son simplistas. Hay muchos grupos dentro de los "no votantes" que no votan por distintas razones, pero todos compartimos algunos puntos básicos.

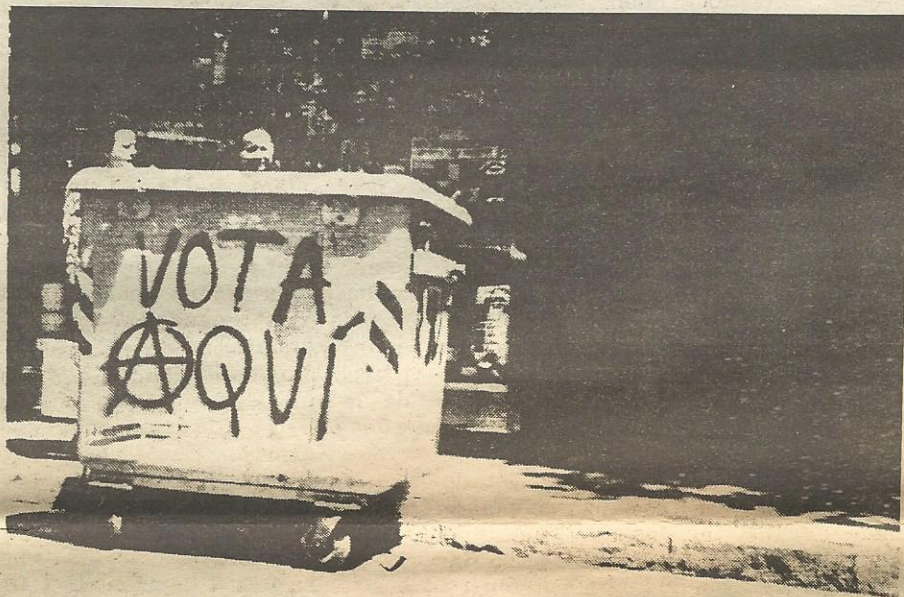
La mayoría "no votante" ha votado con su cabeza, sabemos que no hay poder en las urnas y que caminamos correctamente en la dirección opuesta. Retirarse y no participar con disgusto no es lo mismo que apatía.

Preguntéle a un "no votante" ¿por qué no vota? y es probable que te responda de una de estas formas. Puede ser que conteste: "porque no creo que en las urnas este el poder," "no me importa," "no me interesa la política." En diferentes palabras, todas estas respuestas significan lo mismo.

Muchas veces nos equivocamos al pensar que la gente que no ejerce poder en la forma que pensamos que deberían hacerlo, realmente no lo ejercen. El primer paso hacia una praxis verdaderamente revolucionaria podría ser el reconocer que el pueblo ejerce su poder constantemente, aunque no lo sepa.

Al afirmar esto, no engañamos a nadie; nadie creará que la mitad de la población no voto por nuestro boicot; sin embargo, la gente reconocera muchas verdades importantes en este boicot.

(Continúa en la pagina 4)



y amargamente por su derecho al sufragio y lo han conquistado. No es cosa fácil boicotear las elecciones presidenciales.

Quien ocupe la Casa Blanca puede disminuir o incrementar la asistencia pública, el desempleo, el medicare (seguro médico), y los beneficios estudiantiles. Quien ocupe la Casa Blanca puede eliminar o reforzar el derecho de la mujer al aborto. Quien ocupe la Casa Blanca puede retroceder o adelantar las décadas de avances en los derechos civiles. "El que hable de la revolución sin hablar de su efecto en la vida cotidiana... esta hablando con un cadaver en la boca."

Al mismo tiempo, las elecciones y sus resultados tienen gran importancia, no solo para los oprimidos, los que estan en el poder también las necesitan. El proceso electoral y particularmente las elecciones presidenciales, forman parte importante de la dinámica de opresión del sistema.

tener los avances que nos ha costado tanto conseguir? ¿Votaremos junto a la oligarquía mediante su proceso político o estaremos junto a la mayoría de la gente que no vota?

¿POR QUE UN BOICOT?

La mayoría del pueblo no vota. En realidad, quien ha ganado todas las elecciones en la historia de los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica ha sido la mayoría no votante. Por eso es importante ver el proceso electoral presidencial en su contexto histórico.

La constitución fué escrita para mantener el orden social basandose en la esclavización de los africanos, la marginación de la mujer, el genocidio de los indígenas la opresión de los niños y la perpetuación del poder y el privilegio de un pequeño grupo de hombres blancos. Los requerimientos del sufragio estaban destinados a reservar el voto solo

cos y en organizaciones que militan local e internacionalmente y frecuentemente escriben sobre sus actividades en Amor y Rabia. La Red Amor y Rabia no es un círculo cerrado de amigos, si estás de acuerdo en línea general con la Declaración Política y estas dispuesto a comprometer tu tiempo, energía o dinero en nuestro esfuerzo común, puedes convertirte en parte de la Red y participar ampliamente en el proceso de tomar las decisiones. Pide más información a la persona que te vendió u obsequió el periódico, o escribe a:

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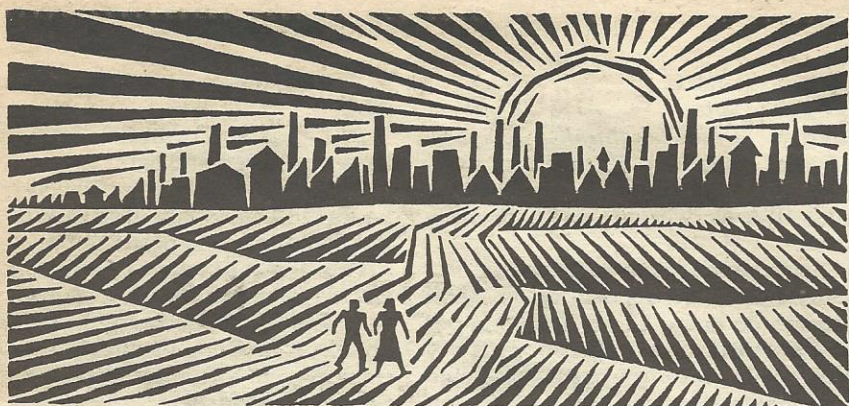
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UN VISTAZO AL MOVIMIENTO ECOLOGISTA RADICAL

POR BAZOOKA JOE

ENTRE MÁS CERCA ESTA EL FIN de siglo XX, la pesadilla ecológica provocada por el avance de la sociedad industrial es demasiado grande como para ignorarla, aún para aquellos que normalmente se atiborran de altas dosis de desentendimiento, es una fuente de ansiedad para mucha gente, tanto, que los asuntos del medio ambiente le han dado de que hablar a los políticos y a los medios masivos de comunicación. Ambos han capitalizado esta ansiedad, como hacen las corporaciones al estilo de los grupos de protección ambiental y los mercados de eco-comodidades. Sin embargo, como la crisis ecológica es real y no un anuncio publicitario de Madison Avenue, continuara empeorando día a día y pronto se agotaran las posibilidades de vida sobre el planeta.

Más allá de la cooptación de la ecología en los medios masivos de comunicación, existe otro tipo de movimiento, que es el actual movimiento de base, la acción popular para proteger la vida humana y el medioambiente. Desde la movilización de amas de casa alrededor del desastre de Love Canal, hasta la lucha de los afroamericanos del sureste de USA para eliminar de sus comunidades los basureros de contaminantes Petroquímicos; de la lucha de los nativoamericanos como la que libran contra el Proyecto de James Bay II (ver Amor y Rabia Año 2, No. 2 y 8), a las demandas obreras por un saludable y seguro medioambiente en los centros de trabajo,

hay coaliciones organizandose desde abajo para resistir el avance de los desastres. Mientras la mayoría de estos movimientos no son explícitamente revolucionarios, estan formados por gente auto-organizada en base a sus propias necesidades y así han comenzado a ganar un sentido de su fuerza y capacidad.

Los revolucionarios sociales y los ecologistas no siempre se han relacionado fácilmente con el tema. Las concepciones de Marx de la naturaleza eran que, ésta era un reino que tenía que ser manipulado y explotado en el orden de las necesidades humanas. De acuerdo a su pensamiento la dominación de la naturaleza fué necesaria a fin de alcanzar la liberación humana.

A finales del siglo XIX y principios de XX se vio el surgimiento de simpatizantes pro- ecologistas entre los movimientos reaccionarios, como la Union de Facistas Británicos, los Camisas Verdes de Rumania y en la mitología del Tercer Reich de "Sangre y Suelo." Muchos de estos movimientos alimentaron la alienación de los pueblos rurales desplazados de sus tierras y confiaron en el caos de la nueva sociedad industrializada que siguió a las revoluciones burguesas. Estas son algunas de las razones por las que la Izquierda tendía a ser anti-ecológica en sus perspectivas.

Lo importante es que debemos de ir más allá de la común ideología anti-ecológica en la Izquierda y al mismo ti-

empo luchar por las políticas sociales liberadoras en el movimiento ecológico. Es crucial que los anarquistas se involucren en la lucha por una sociedad ecologista. Para esto, debemos estar concientes del potencial radical así como de algunos de los defectos de varias tendencias en el movimiento ecológico actual.

LOS VERDES

Los Verdes representan un amplio movimiento mundial que intenta dirigir las interrogantes sociales y ecológicas de manera coherente. Los Verdes que en USA empezaron como Comites de Correspondencia en 1984, fué originalmente modelado en base a la estructura delegada de las Federación Anarquista Iberica, la FAI. Desde entonces han estado envueltos en un movimiento combinado y una estructura de partido llamados Los Verdes / Partido Verde. A través de los años han habido bastantes debates entre reformistas liberales, radicales sociales y otros como los bioregionalistas en la organización.

La capacidad de Los Verdes para sobrevivir a los frecuentes desacuerdos ideológicos y estrategicos entre estos rangos ha permitido el crecimiento manteniendo los principios radicales, incluyendo la comisión para una democracia participativa y una plataforma económica que es implícitamente anti-capitalista.

Actualmente existen aproximadamente 200 grupos locales con alrededor de 3000 ha 5000 miembros. Existen problemas con la membresía de Los Verdes. Muchos de sus miembros son blancos, clase media y con poca experiencia en construir movimientos. Sin embargo la organización continúa moviendose hacia la izquierda y muchas personas de diferentes grupos de marginados y oprimidos han empezado a jugar un importante papel.

Esta año el Plan de Acción Verde incluye dos prometedores proyectos: "El Verano de Detroit" y "Energía solar a través de la energía comunitaria." El primero tendra voluntarios jóvenes que vendran de todo el país a ayudar a los vecinos de Detroit en la restauración y la recuperación a través de la construcción de huertos urbanos, reconstrucción de casas y ayudando a comenzar cooperativas, entre otras cosas. El segundo proyecto envuelve un desafío a la Estrategia Nacional de Energía de Bush y presionar hacia las alternativas energéticas ecológicas.

Para mayor información sobre Los Verdes escribir a:

Green Clearinghouse
PO BOX 30208
Kansas City, MO 64112
USA

o a su Publicación cuatrimestral :

Green Letter / Greener Times
PO Box 14141
San Francisco, CA 94114. USA

ECOLOGIA SOCIAL

Desde sus inicios, Los Verdes en USA han estado influenciados por el anarquismo, específicamente por la ecología social. Articulado primeramente por el activista y teórico social Murray Bookchin, la ecología social explica la crisis ecológica como reflejo de una crisis social; o que el intento de dominar a la naturaleza surge de la dominación del hombre por el hombre.

Desde la perspectiva de la ecología social cualquier intento humano por rearmarnos con la naturaleza significara confrontar todas las formas de jerarquía y dominación como son el patriarcado, el racismo y la homofobia, mientras se construye un movimiento ecológico que pueda finalmente confrontar al poder del capitalismo moderno y al Estado. La ecología social juega un papel importante en la Red de Izquierda Verde y en las Juventudes Verdes.

Para más información sobre ecología social, contactar al:

Institute for Social Ecology
PO Box 89
Plainfield, VT 05667 USA

o a la publicación:

Green Perspectives
PO Box 111
Burlington, VT 05402 USA.

LA IZQUIERDA VERDE

La Izquierda Verde, es una red de anarquistas y socialistas independientes que comparten un compromiso común en base a la ecología, anti-capitalismo y una política participativa de base, jugando un activo papel dentro y fuera del movimiento verde. Las perspectivas de la Izquierda Verde van desde una orientación de ecología social y una estrategia de municipalismo libertario a una mayor orientación laboral con énfasis en la democracia obrera y en las alianzas medioambientales / laborales orientadas hacia una mayor acción directa. La Izquierda Verde edita dos publicaciones, una bimensual *Left Green Notes* (825 E. Roosevelt, # 178 Lombard, IL 60148 USA) y un tabloide cuatrimestral *Regeneration* (WD Press, PO box 24115, St Louis, MO 63130 USA)

Además del Partido Verde socialdemócrata en Canadá, existen dos formaciones diferentes dentro de la Izquierda Verde. En el este de Canadá,

(Continúa en la pagina 4)

DECLARACION POLITICA DE AMOR Y RABIA

Amor y Rabia es una publicación mensual anarquista revolucionaria que intenta fomentar el activismo revolucionario anti-autoritario en Norteamérica y construir un movimiento anarquista mejor organizado. Proveeremos cobertura sobre luchas sociales, eventos mundiales, acciones anarquistas y brotes de resistencia. Apoyaremos las luchas de los oprimidos alrededor del mundo por el control de sus propias vidas. El anarquismo ofrece la más profunda crítica a la jerarquía y a la dominación, haciendo posible un armazón para la unidad de todas las luchas por la liberación. Tratamos de entender los sistemas bajo los cuales vivimos mediante nuestro propio análisis y rechazamos cualquier ideología pre-enlatada. El anarquismo es un cuerpo viviente teórico-práctico, conectado directamente a las experiencias de los oprimidos que luchan por su propia liberación. Anticipamos la revisión constante y radical de nuestras ideas como parte necesaria de cualquier proceso revolucionario.

Amor y Rabia es Revolucionario

Apoyamos el derrocamiento de toda forma de relaciones sociales autoritarias y la creación de una sociedad basada en la cooperación, en la solidaridad y la ayuda mutua. Reconocemos que la revolución social solo puede hacerla realidad la mayoría oprimida de la humanidad mediante un movimiento auto-gestionario. Apoyamos la utilización de cualquier medio necesario para emancipar a la humanidad y alcanzar así el fin de la guerra, de la pobreza, del hambre, y de la miseria generada por el actual sistema. Apoyamos el uso de tácticas diversas contra el actual sistema y para el desarrollo de una revolución social.

Amor y Rabia es Anti-estatista

Nos oponemos a todos los Estados (gobiernos) sin distinción de ideologías. El objeto del Estado es mantener y regular todas las formas de dominación. El Estado tiene el monopolio de la violencia legal y organizada: la policía, el ejército y el sistema de prisiones, imponiendo la organización de la sociedad. Nos oponemos al sistema de inmigración

y al intento de control del libre movimiento de los pueblos a través de las fronteras. Creemos que la gente puede organizar sus vidas y sus comunidades. Esta auto-organización puede hacer que el pueblo tome el control de las funciones que ahora dependen del Estado.

Amor y Rabia es Anti-capitalista

Apoyamos todas las formas de resistencia a la dominación capitalista - resistencia traducida en huelgas, luchas obreras, la ocupación de edificaciones (squating), huelgas contra los alquileres y luchas por el control comunitario de los recursos. Deseamos la transformación total de la producción y el consumo en una economía cooperativa y a favor de la vida, que además sea descentralizada, equitativa, fluida, experimental y controlada por los que participan en ella.

Amor y Rabia es Anti-racista

Apoyamos la autodeterminación de todas las comunidades de color. Luchamos contra la supremacía blanca y trabajamos por una sociedad que respete la diversidad cultural. Conocemos la opresión específica que existe hacia el afroamericano, desde épocas de la esclavitud hasta el presente. Luchamos por la liberación y la autodeterminación del pueblo negro en los Estados Unidos. Sabemos que las bases de la sociedad racista de hoy son el genocidio y la asimilación forzada del pueblo indígena. Apoyamos la conservación de las tradiciones culturales y los derechos a la tierra de los nativoamericanos. Luchamos por erradicar el imperialismo cultural. Nos oponemos al racismo anti-semita. Apoyamos la autodeterminación de Québec y el fin de la opresión contra el francofono en Norteamérica. Nos organizamos contra el racismo del "skin-heads", el "klan", los nazis y el terror policial. Reconocemos el racismo implícito en la dominación y la explotación económica, política y militar del llamado "tercer mundo." Luchamos por crear una sociedad donde la gente pueda sentirse segura, respetada y no amenazada por el racismo.

Amor y Rabia es Anti-imperialista

La sociedad por la que luchamos celebrará la belleza de la diversidad humana, honrará la tierra y reconocerá las contribuciones sociales y culturales de la comunidad humana hecha por la mayoría de los habitantes del planeta: el pueblo de color. Para crear esta sociedad, la humanidad tiene que derrocar la que ha sido impuesta sobre el planeta por una minoría mediante la fuerza, una sociedad que ha esclavizado a la mayoría de los pobladores del planeta para el enriquecimiento de pocos. Esto incluye, no solo la dominación del capital occidental, sino toda forma de imperialismo estatal. Apoyamos la lucha de todos los pueblos oprimidos y explotados, por la autodeterminación y liberación de la dominación extranjera o doméstica. Además, también apoyamos críticamente la lucha de todas las naciones menos poderosas contra el control y el abuso imperialista.

Amor y Rabia es Anti-sexista

Rechazamos el patriarcado y luchamos por la liberación y la autodeterminación de todas las mujeres. Esto incluye la incuestionable libertad de elección reproductiva y una más accesible atención médica y de cuidado para todas sin exclusión. Reconocemos que la violencia sexual y el abuso son necesarios para la continuación del funcionamiento del Estado. El Estado no resolverá nuestros problemas.

Reconocemos la responsabilidad de los hombres para lograr un cambio en sí mismos y terminar por siempre el patriarcado. Reconocemos la fuerza de la mujer y nos regocijamos por ello.

Amor y Rabia Apoya la Libre Determinación Sexual

Rechazamos la autoritaria heterosexualidad de la familia patriarcal y la tradicional adopción de roles sexuales y apoyamos los esfuerzos por promover una pluralidad de relaciones humano-sexuales en su justa proporción. Esto incluye la liberación de homosexuales, bisexuales, lesbianas y travestis.

Amor y Rabia No Discrimina las Edades

Las manifestaciones del generacionalismo toman lugar, desde la opresión a la juventud hasta las problemáticas de las personas ancianas, de todo aquel que es marginado y alienado por su edad en esta sociedad. Nuestra idea de liberación esta en constante desarrollo y no puede resumirse en un solo párrafo. Por lo tanto, esta debe ser discutida en todos sus aspectos en nuestro periódico, así como a través de nuestras vidas. Estos temas no deberan construir las reglas de un juego a seguir, sino que deberan debatirse en artículos relevantes en las páginas de la Federación de Jóvenes Anarquistas (Anarchist Youth Federation - AYF) y en cualquier otro lugar donde sea necesario.

Amor y Rabia es Eco-anarquista

Todas las formas de vida estan interconectadas. Rechazamos el mito aquel que afirma que existimos fuera del mundo natural, por el contrario creemos que la vida humana forma parte integral del mismo. Al mismo tiempo, sabemos que toda forma de dominación social solo traerá la destrucción del planeta y por ello, debemos acabar con la misma. El capitalismo no salvará el planeta por el solo hecho de hacernos cambiar nuestro estilo de vida o seguir una política de "enverdecimiento capitalista." En realidad, tenemos que entender la complicidad del estado capitalista con todas las formas de dominación, tales como el patriarcado y el racismo, responsables de la actual crisis ecológica. La sociedad anarquista tiene que ser ecologista y a su vez, la sociedad ecologista tiene que ser anarquista.

Esta declaración no pretende incluir todos los planteamientos que conciernen al anarquismo o anti-autoritarismo, como tampoco pretende Amor y Rabia darlo todo por entendido ni unificar todos los puntos de vista. No podemos representar el amplio espectro del heterogéneo movimiento anarquista contemporáneo, ni nos avergonzamos de algún punto de vista controversial. Finalmente, buscamos la incorporación de nuestros lectores y otros activistas en nuestro esfuerzo por el avance de nuestro entendimiento y el del movimiento en el que militamos.

Boicot

(Continúa de la página 2)

AUTOGESTION

Cuando no es la clase gobernante la que nos esta diciendo que votemos "por nuestro propio bien" son los liberales o la "izquierda" los que nos lo dicen. Si no son nuestros dirigentes los que nos alientan, son los liberales que nos regañan. Esto es una mierda, es una falta de respeto rechazar las respuestas del pueblo frente a sus propias vivencias. A veces esta falta de respeto esta influenciada por el racismo y el sexismo "sutil," por ejemplo, ¿Por qué sera que el pueblo afroamericano no reconoce la importancia del voto?

Parte del poder del boicot es que nos expone: queremos que todos tomen el poder para sí mismos. ¿Cuál es la mejor forma de lograrlo? Veamos lo que ya esta haciendo el pueblo.

Trataremos de trabajar con la mayoría no votante porque respetamos su decisión hacia la autogestión, aunque nos parezca que esta no esta puesta en práctica del todo. No nos interesa decirle a la gente que vote. Queremos trabajar con el pueblo de la misma forma en que ya estan tomando sus decisiones políticas. Esto no sera fácil; siempre existira el peligro de hablar por otro o de parecer hacerlo.

EL BOICOT

El boicot es solo a las elecciones presidenciales, no a las elecciones locales o estatales. El boicot ya ha atraído la atención de un amplio espectro de grupos y probablemente, también lo apoyen otros grupos de la izquierda revolucionaria. La Coalición esta abierta a cualquier grupo que realmente apoye el boicot a las elecciones presidenciales de 1992, no acepta la promoción de candidatos alternativos ni tampoco la participación de grupos o individuos racistas, sexistas u homofóbicos. Un grupo preliminar para establecer la Coalición (formado por representantes de la Red Amor y Rabia, la Red Izquierda Verde, la Juventud Verde y otros) se reunirá el 14 de marzo a fin de planificar y anunciar formalmente la Coalición. Una vez establecida la Coalición empezaran las tareas de organización.

Parece mejor establecer una división estratégica en tres fases: Primavera '92, Verano '92, y Otoño '92. Cada fase tiene aspectos activos y organizativos.

Durante el verano planeamos interrumpir las elecciones primarias estatales. Un pequeño número de interrupciones en las primarias, cuidadosamente planeadas, podrían capturar la atención de los medios de comunicación. Al mismo tiempo es probable que nos enfoquemos en la

búsqueda de nuevos miembros para la Coalición.

De ser posible vamos a necesitar espacio para instalar una oficina y destinar a una persona que pueda trabajar como organizadora móvil.

Protestas e interrupciones de las Asambleas Nacionales de los Demócratas y los Republicanos sera el enfoque del verano, así como también desarrollar organizadores para el trabajo local durante el verano y el otoño.

El otoño sera el período en que estaremos más ocupados. En octubre, la lucha contra el V Centenario sera el período más atareado de la campaña. Es probable que todos estemos participando en acciones contra el V Centenario y deberíamos también trabajar para canalizar esta energía movilizadora en el curso de estas acciones hacia el boicot. Durante este período queremos joder las campañas de los candidatos lo más posible. Si disponemos de los recursos suficientes, deberíamos también organizar de puerta en puerta durante este período e involucrar a las universidades. Es también probable que hagamos manifestaciones y protestas el día de las elecciones. En vez de estar votando por el sistema, estaremos luchando en su contra.

CONCLUSION

El boicot electoral nos brindara la oportunidad de definir claramente nuestra posición ante un público interesado.

Es probable que nos ataquen por causa de nuestras opiniones; no por que sean equivocadas, sino porque hay demasiado en juego. Cada artículo sobre el boicot que aparesca en la prensa de izquierda, obligara a la izquierda a considerar y discutir cosas que no desean discutir. ¿De donde viene el poder político? ¿como el pueblo pude tener poder? ¿haría alguna diferencia tener un presidente progresista? ¿qué clase de cambio buscamos? ¿quienes seran los agentes de cambio en esta sociedad?

Con cada manifestación e interrupción de la campaña electoral le diremos al mundo que existe oposición en este país, que existe una perspectiva radical, que hay gente luchando por la revolución y con todo esto, con cada volante y llamado telefónico, cada acción y discusión, con cada triunfo y con cada fracaso, estaremos diciendonos a nosotros mismos que somos un movimiento anarquista activo y revolucionario, lleno de amor y rabia.

Para más información contacte a la:

Coalición Boicot Electoral 1992
PO Box 3, Prince St. Station
New York, NY 10012 USA
Teléfono (212) 925 - 7966.
Fax (212) 925 - 7976

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SINOPSIS DE LA SECCION EN INGLES

Pág. 1 - Portada.

Pág. 2 - Cartas.

Pág. 3 - "Desde las entrañas de la bestia." Por Kate Star. Un artículo explicando como el enfrentamiento político en los USA es diferente al de los otros países.

"Acción anti-facista en las calles." Por McKay Russo. Un reporte de la manifestación de enero 23 en Alemania por los Estudiantes Autónomos y Alternativos y otros grupos progresistas en respuesta a la violencia neo-facista en Thuringen.

Pág. 4 y 5 - Notas de Agitación.

Noticias cortas y calendario anarquista (Ver sección en español).

Pág. 6 - Cruz Negra Anarquista.

Notas de prisión y de la organización anarquista internacional, dedicada a la ayuda y solidaridad con los presos anarquistas, presos políticos, de guerra y sociales al rededor del mundo. Un artículo sobre los primeros prisioneros políticos de Yelstin, tres jóvenes anarcopunks rusos necesitan tú ayuda. Pida información a : 109462 Moscú, Volzhinsky. Boulevard 21 - 62. Mikhail Tsovma, Rusia. Teléfono (095) 921 - 06 - 55 KAS - KOR. En USA contactar a Neither East Nor West. 528 5th. St. Brooklyn, NY. 11215 USA.

Noticias desde Inglaterra y escocia de ABC.

Brutalidad policiaca en Dinamarca contra un joven activista.

Pág. 7 - "¿Amor y Justicia?" Por Laura Lib. Una réplica al artículo de Richard Blake, sobre la pornografía.

Pág. 8 y 9 (centro) - Ecología. "Un vistazo al movimiento ecologista radical." Por Bazooka Joe. (Ver sección en español). "Ironbound arde de nuevo" Por Gene Nummy-Nummy y miembros del Grupo de Producción.

Un artículo describiendo la triste realidad del Barrio de Ironbound en Newark y la lucha de sus habitantes contra la contaminación y el envenenamiento que provoca la planta incineradora de desperdicios y la relación de los activistas anarquistas en estas luchas.

Pág. 10 - "El anarquismo y la revolución afro-americana." Por Lorenzo Komboa Erwin

Pág. 11 - Federación de juventudes anarquistas.

La acostumbrada página del gupo de jóvenes anarquistas llena de buen humor noticias y contactos.

Pág. 12 - En La Avenida Gogol -

La habitual sección de Amor y Rabia dedicada al enfoque sobre Europa del Este.

SOLIDARIDAD CON LOS PUEBLOS DEL AMAZONAS

EL DOMINGO, 15 DE MARZO, DE 2 a 5 de la tarde, tendra lugar en el Columbus Circle (Calle 59 y Broadway) en la ciudad de Nueva York, una protesta en solidaridad con los pueblos del Amazonas, indescansables guardianes de los pulmones del mundo.

La selva amazónica que abarca una extensión de cinco países suramericanos, ha sido continua e indiscriminadamente explotada, saqueada y abusada por innumerables compañías capitalistas multinacionales y nacionales. El saqueo de sus riquezas forestales, la explotación del caucho y la explotación del carbón de huya y petrolera, entre otras industrias, han provocado la actual crisis que no unicamente afecta a los nativos pobladores de estas tierras - que no solo han sido cruelmente desplazados de sus tierras y criminalmente exterminados (mediante la esterilización forzada y la miseria) que además se les ha contaminado y envenenado su ambiente - sino que también afecta al resto de los habitantes del planeta.

La explotación del carbón de huya en Colombia y la explotación petrolera en Ecuador son ejemplos concretos (por citar algunos) del vandalismo despiadado al Amazonas y de opresión y desplazo de los pueblos nativos del area. Para erradicar estos males, sabemos que debemos de luchar con todas nuestras fuerzas para cambiar el curso de esta

sociedad explotadora y anti natural y construir una sociedad de justicia social y ecológica, basandose en la solidaridad humana, la ayuda mutua, la libertad y el amor a la Tierra. Con este fin, existen varias organizaciones internacionales, continentales y regionales. SALVAN - Unidad Ecológica Latinoamericana, es un digno ejemplo de este intento, dedicando sus esfuerzos a salvar la amazonia ecuatoriana. Para mayor información:

SALVAN
teléfono (718) 271-4249.

Nuestro buzón esta hambriento.
Queremos recibir cartas de nuestros lectores en español. Quejas, sugerencias, críticas, comentarios seran bien recibidas.



Ecología

(Continúa de la página 3)

principalmente en Toronto, Ottawa y Montreal, la Confederacion Municipalista Verde, que estan en su mayoría influenciados por la ecología social y no usan el término "izquierda" por sus conotaciones centralistas e institucionales en la política de la izquierda. La Izquierda Verde en el oeste de Canadá, con base en la Columbia Británica es una combinación de anarquistas, socialistas y ex-miembros del Partido Comunista. Algunos de la Izquierda Verde de la C.B. estan involucrados en una fuerte coalición de nativos, leñadores y medioambientalistas. Para una copia de los Principios de la Izquierda Verde u otros materiales escribir a

Left Green Network
PO Box 366
Iowa City, IA 52244 USA.

EARTH FIRST! (LA TIERRA PRIMERO)

Afuera del movimiento verde organizado, existe un gran número de grupos y perspectivas que buscan fundamentalmente un cambio ecológico. Posiblemente uno de los más conocidos dentro de los grupos ecologistas radicales sea Earth

First!, caracterizado por sus arriesgados y creativos sabotajes y desobediencia civil. Muchos de sus miembros se auto-denominan " ecologistas profundos " refiriendose a la filosofía iniciada por el filósofo noruego Arne Naess, continuada de manera popular por George Sessions y Bill Duval entre otros. La ecología profunda se refiere a una ética ecológica guiada por la noción del bio-centralismo o la idea de que cada entidad viviente tiene intrínsecos derechos.

Para mayor información contactar:
"The EARTH FIRST!Journal"
PO Box 5176
Missoula, MT 59806 USA.

OTRAS PERSPECTIVAS ECO-ANARQUISTAS

La ecología es uno de los componentes fundamentales en la política de muchos anarquistas en las dos últimas décadas. El tabloide "Anarchy" y "Fifth Estate" ofrecen fuertes críticas a la crisis ecológica y al avance del capitalismo industrial. "Fifth Estate" particularmente tiene un importante papel en los debates sobre la ecología profunda.

Existe también, una creciente sensibilidad en la escena anarco-punk, testificandose a través de la disminución del uso de las chamarras de cuero y el aumento del uso de las botas de lona de fabricación israelí. Mientras que la elección de este modo de vida es eticamente importante, se pone en peligro que las

políticas ecológicas se disuelvan entre la moda y el consumo.

Existen dos nuevos grupos eco-punk que han empezado en California:

Bay Area Unwound
PO Box 423592
San Francisco, CA 94102 USA

Earth Unbound
UCSC Oakes 527
1156 Hight St.
Santa Cruz, CA 95064 USA

LAS JUVENTUDES VERDES

Los más viejos activistas de las Juventudes Verdes comenzaron en un grupo afin anti-capitalista y anti-estatista entre los Verdes.

El grupo pronto se convirtió en una organización autónoma centrada en la ecología social y en un compromiso de teoría y práctica. En su última conferencia, en agosto de 1991 las Juventudes Verdes decidieron fomentar las discusiones entre anarquistas, ecologistas radicales y otros sobre la posibilidad de unir las diferentes tendencias antiautoritarias con el movimiento ecológico para construir una confederación eco-anarquista o autónoma verde. Esta nueva formación trabajaría con la izquierda radical y el movimiento ecologista para coordinar acciones regionales y continentales, intercambiar ideas y planear estrategias a largo tér-

mino para crear una sociedad ecologista libre desde abajo.

Las Juventudes Verdes estan en contacto con los participantes de la Red Amor y Rabia, la Izquierda Verde, los grupos de la Federación de Juventudes Anarquistas, miembros de Earth First!, estudiantes mediambientalistas y otros interesados en las ideas. Publican un tabloide llamado "Free Society" y planean una conferencia en agosto de 1992. Para mayor información escribir a:

Youth Greens o Free Society
PO Box 7293
Minneapolis, MN 55407 USA

Amor y Rabia le ha dado cobertura a muchos aspectos del movimiento ecologista. Para más información sobre este tema puede consultar las siguientes ediciones:

Earth Day - Vol. 1 Ns. 1 y 3

Judi Bari, Daryl Cherney - Vol. 1 no. 4

Earth First! - Vol. 1 Ns. 4,5;Vol. 2 No. 8

Left Greens - Vol 1 No. 5;Vol. 2 Ns. 6,8

Youth Greens - Vol. 1 No.6; Vol. 2 No. 8

Ecology - Vol. 1 No. 7; Vol. 2 No 9

James Bay - Vol. 2 Nos. 2, 8

Ecology Theory - Vol. 2 Nos. 5, 7 y 10